NEW TIMES

The heart is not a stone. It needs battaries

February 1992

6

UK: £0.85
US: $1.40

What is today –
YESTERDAY
or
TOMORROW?

ISSN 0206-1473

The Frunze agricultural machinary plant

offers an electric stimulator,

AKSON-02

(inventor's certificates of the USSR
Nos 1074484, 1261674, 1335257)

AKSON-02

detects biologically active points, sets the length of each session,
relieves headaches, pains in cases of myosite,
neuralgia and radiculitis, cures catarrhal diseases,
and regulates blood pressure.
In short, AKSON=02 is an excellent instrument for a home specialist in acupuncture.
The clearly formulated and detailed specifications will help you handle AKSON=02 easily.
Tentative price 105 rubles.
If you are interested in buying AKSON=02, please cable your payment
and dispatch requisites and guarantees of payment

To the following address:
720008, Bishkek, Republic of Kyrgyzstan,
ul. Intergelpo 1, Selmashzavod
Telephones (in Bishkek): 24-46-42, 24-48-51.

AO Kyrgyzreklamservis

A SOVIET WEEKLY

NEW TIMES

No. 6, 1992
Founded 1945

Boris Yeltsin: a top-speed trip for top-speed help

p. 4

How Khrushchev gave the Crimea away to Ukraine

p. 10

Humanity is in for an encounter with extraterrestrials, a German scholar says

p. 39

WORLD AND US

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT *M. Shakina*
THE PRESIDENTIAL "WESTERN" 4
RUSSIA – USA *Ye. Rusakov* **RESCUING THE DROWNING** 6
OBSERVER'S VIEW *G. Sidorova* **THE UNPREDICTABLE PRESIDENT** 8

COMMONWEALTH

RUSSIA-UKRAINE *Y. Ambartsumov, A. Adzhubei*
PENINSULA OF CONTENTION 10
FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT *G. Ariyevich*
THEY ARE LOSING THEIR PATIENCE 14
FORECAST *I. Bunin, M. Urnov*
THREE ROADS FROM MOSCOW 15
OBSERVER'S VIEW *L. Bezymensky* **WE ARE BIZARRE ONCE AGAIN** 17

WORLD

MIDDLE EAST *Ya. Borovoi*
DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE DEAF AND THE DUMB 18
ESTONIA *M. Levin* **PREMIER RESIGNS, PROBLEMS REMAIN** 20
PAST AND PRESENT *L. Mlechin*
KURT WALDHEIM: A HISTORY OF ONE CAREER 24

THIRD BASKET

MEDICINE *O. Vishnyakov* **BATTERY-OPERATED HEART – IS IT RISKY?** 28
ESSAY *I. Gerol*
"EVERYTHING HAS TURNED OUT QUITE UPSIDE-DOWN" 32
SECRET SERVICES *L. Mlechin* **"I ALONE KNOW WHO THE FIFTH ONE WAS"** 34
DIVERSION *B. Lysenko* **RENDEZVOUZ WITH EXTRATERRESTRIALS** 39
MANUSCRIPTS DO NOT BURN *R. Pimenov* **THE ORIGINS OF XENOPHOBIA** 41
LIFESTYLE *Chi Cagov* **CAPITALISM – IT IS EASY** 46
FROM OUR MAILBAG **(2),** PEOPLE **(44)**

Cover by Victor Brel

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, USSR. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

NEW TIMES

Editor-in-Chief
Alexander PUMPYANSKY

Associate editors:
Lev BEZYMENSKY
Vitaly GANYUSHKIN
Sergei GOLYAKOV
Vitaly IGNATENKO
Leonid MLECHIN
Marina SHAKINA
Galina SIDOROVA
Pavel SAMARCHYAN
Lev YELIN
Nikita ZHOLKVER

Designer
Igor SHEIN

Editor-in-Chief of English edition
Victor KAMOTSKY

We have correspondents in
Belgrade, Berlin, Bonn, Bucharest, Delhi, London, Mexico, New York, Prague, Pretoria, Rome, Sofia, Seoul, Stockholm, Tokyo, Vienna, Warsaw

Founders:
***New Times* journalists.**

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, USSR
Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67
Telex: 411164a newt SU, 411164b newt SU
Telefax: 200-42-23, 200-41-92

Published in Russian and English and printed by Moskovskaya Pravda Press 7, Ulitsa 1905 Goda in 135,000 copies

order No. 248

© New Times

From our mailbag

■ I am not surprised when many noted journalists suggest that the Kurile Islands should be turned over to Japan. The pre-revolutionary philosopher Rozanov wrote that the Russian press and society were ready to tear Russia to pieces and distribute them among neighbours – not even for money but for a word of praise. However, it is sheer folly to write, as your magazine did, that the Kurile Islands should not be returned while Japan's right to them can be recognized. The statement that anyone has the right to anything (for instance, I have the right to an English bank) is not something new. It is not honest, however, to recognize Japan's right to the islands and still continue to keep them.

The question is whether Japan has such a right. Under the San Francisco peace treaty Japan waived its right to the Kurile Islands. The treaty was drafted with the participation of a Soviet delegation. Stalin did not ratify it because of ambitions, and his successors because of obstinancy. But what prevents the ratification of the treaty today? Perhaps it is the simplest way for our refined politicians.

Some refer to the declaration of 1956. However, it is not a treaty but only a statement on readiness to draw up a new treaty. Lastly, some assert that since Japan once owned the Kurile Islands they should be returned to it. Japan also owned the south of Sakhalin. However, it does not lay claim to it. But don't worry, it will soon demand it, for as they say, take what you are given. It is clear even to a primary school pupil that land has had different masters in the course of history. For instance, Moscow was once subordinate to the Tartar conquerors. Should it be given back to the Tartars? What is the opinion of legal pundits? They will talk about new thinking and a new world order. But why should ordinary people pay for attempts to recarve the world?

Alexei Timokhin
Moscow

■ I am glad that *New Times* published a truthful article on events in the Baltic states, particularly, on the Riga-based special-purpose police force (No. 43/91). Unfortunately, attempts to renew a campaign of provocations and incite hatred for the small freedom-loving Baltic states (made by the party controlled press and television before the coup) are occasionally undertaken by some periodicals which have became "independent" since the coup. These newspapers and magazines defend the special-purpose police and write with sympathy about it. And this is done not by *Pravda* alone.

Poor members of the special-purpose police! They, citizens of the USSR, champions of lofty ideas, defending the honour and dignity of the beloved party and former state from the Baltians who impudently restored their independence, are now caught and called to account by Baltian policemen with the connivance of the bad prosecutors of Russia and Moldova. It never occurred to the authors of "wonderful" articles that the Riga- and Vilnius-based special-purpose police units were in fact ordinary gangs, the party's guard units of the type which

The are fighting for Croatia

■ *Nezavisimaya Baltiyskaya Gazeta* (Independent Baltian Newspaper) has published a real sensation – an interview by its journalist Nikitin with a Soviet mercenary who fought in Croatia.

Igor, 25, was recruited in Budapest, where he came to resell goods. Once he dropped into a military uniform shop which proved to be a centre for recruiting mercenaries to Yugoslavia. Igor had no money and signed a contract without realizing what was taking place in Yugoslavia. There were Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Frenchmen, Americans, Vietnamese and Philipinos among the mercenaries. Under a contract 10,000 marks is paid to the family of a soldier in the event of his death. A private receives 1,000 marks a month. As many as 100 marks is paid a day for participation in combat operations, 3,000 marks for a wound or concussion, and 7,000 marks if a soldier loses an arm or leg. Igor underwent a medical commission and took part in the fighting. The first real battle for Igor took place in August. He saw burnt tanks and charred bodies without arms or legs.

Strict discipline was maintained. Mercenaries were allowed to use narcotics only during vacations. The medical commission did not accept real drug addicts. Igor preferred slivovica (plum brandy) to narcotics. He took part in the defence of Dubrovnik and was wounded twice, but not seriously, and for this reason he did not need the ambulance. There was an incentive to continue fighting.

During one attack the Serbs realized that the foreign legio was pitted against them and ran away, fearing that the would commit atrocities. The mercenaries were even issue American bullet-proof vests for protection against snipers "Snipers are a terrible thing, especially at night," Igor said "They have night vision devices. During a week they put ou of action 10 of our 30 soldiers. Seven of them were shot t death." After the battle for Dubrovnik Igor could not bear any longer. Under the contract he had to fight for anothe three months. However, he decided to simulate a mental dis order and go home, especially as the coup in Moscow ha failed. On August 20, before the putsch ended, his mates fe sorry for him, saying: "Well, you'll fight with us and the we'll go to your country."

Igor went to Austria through Slovenia, then to Hungar and finally to the former Soviet Union. Later he recruite mercenaries for Croatia. According to him, hundreds o people expressed the desire to go, and a contest was eve held. "Among the recruits were former special-purpos policemen, KGB men, veterans of the Afghan war and offic ers who retired from the Soviet Army. We have opened a employment office, which is actually a recruitment centre Those who want to will find it. They could kill a lot of peopl in Moscow, so let them do it in Croatia instead."

Ivars Rosenberg
Yelgava, Latvi

A Soviet mercenary in Croatia

I wish I had my own copy of *New Times* instead of borrowing one

The wretched special-purpose police

Drawing by Vladimir Nenashev

existed in nazi Germany. What particularly delights the authors of the above-mentioned articles is that special-purpose policemen are highly-skilled detectives fighting crime. The SS-men also fought not only against political opponents of the Reich but also against criminals of all kinds. The order – so praised by many in our country – was established by Nazis quickly and efficiently. I can say this as a man who lived under the German occupation regime.

A.Zubin
Kaliningrad

■ I was amazed to read an interview with Kenneth Kaunda, President (now former) of Zambia (No. 24/91). Kaunda was a dictator in a one-party state. However, you will not learn from the interview how he crushed democracy. The Zambian President received millions of dollars collected from taxpayers in the West. Believe it or not, such dictators get about 60 million dollars every year. Some fools in the West think that their money goes to the poor people in poor countries, such as Zambia. There is nothing about it in the interview. It should be recalled that the sums given by the West financed programmes which contaminated the environment, killed life, and were used to establish brutal tyranny in Africa. African socialism does not differ from socialism in the USSR. However, the author keeps silent about the real state of affairs in Zambia.

J.A.Rogers
Australia

■ Two Baku newspapers (*Istiglal* and *Bakinski Rabochi*) recently published articles about Galina Starovoitova, an adviser to the Russian President. They are entitled "Don't act mean" and "The devil's lawyer." Here is what the authors of these articles write about Starovoitova:

"There is a person who has made an astounding career on the blood and tears of the people of Caucasus. It is Galina Starovoitova. She was hired for good money, and now she has made her way into Yeltsin's presidential office. Galina Starovoitova lies, conscientiously working off her piece of bread." One of the authors writes about Starovoitova's "provocative activity abroad, in parliaments and at scientific conferences." The other author is equally scathing: "The devil's lawyer, an experienced ideological saboteur, not only the author of provocative lampoons but also one of the architects of chaos in our region. I have in mind Starovoitova."

I wonder how these writings can be described – a dispute with a political opponent or just an insult?

Eduard Aslanov
Grozny

■ Having read the article "No change in Karabakh" (No. 43/91), filled with hatred for the Azerbaijanians, I finally concluded that your magazine is a mouthpiece of the Armenian extremist gunmen or was bribed by them. What were your "highly humane" correspondents like Kalinkin doing in 1988, when 200,000 Azerbaijanians were driven out of Armenia within seven days? More than 500,000 Russians and 200,000 Armenians continue to live in Azerbaijan. It's time to stop one-sided coverage of events and to become an unbiassed, honest and just magazine.

A.Mamedov
Baku

■ The letter from a former Vlasovite (a member of the Vlasov army which fought on the side of German troops in the war, No. 46/91) prompted me to advise people to spurn the lies of this traitor. I am not going to convince the author of the letter that his judgements are wrong. He had many years to revise his views. However, he contends even today that the fascists and Vlasovites killed Communists. It is a lie. A large part of the millions of people killed in the war were not Communists. It appears that the Nazis did not burn villages in my Byelorussia and did not kill their children, women, or elderly people. It appears that there was no Babi Yar or thousands of other places where Nazis shot thousands of people.

Or let's take his assertion that "war veterans must be declared not defenders of the homeland but fighters for the Stalin dictatorship." It is a monstrous statement. During the war I was wounded three times and lost one arm. I state categorically that our soldiers defended not Stalinism. Suffering and dying, we did not think about the political regime, dictatorship. All that was far away from us. We fought for our homeland, against enslavement. We understood that Stalinism was an evil, but we considered fascism an even greater evil.

The former Vlasovite demands privileges for himself. What impudence! No ruses will allow anyone to call black white and depict a traitor as a defender of the homeland.

Valentin Gorbachevsky
wounded war veteran
Bobruisk, Belarus

■ Reading your magazine today I often compare it with the dry and dull periodical it was in the past. In my youth I was head of a reading room and had no desire to read *New Times* even as my official duty. For several years now I have read every issue of the magazine and impatiently wait for the next one. The articles of Tatiana Ivanova and Simon Soloveichik have especially attracted me from the very outset. I, always, first off, look for their names. However, the articles of these authors have appeared less often of late. Please carry them more often.

I am 75 and do not go outside. I have a meagre pension and can't afford to subscribe to *New Times*. However, I have found a way out: a postwoman secretly brings your magazine to me and takes it away after I have read it. But I am anxious to have your magazine at home.

M.Kosheleva
Meltsany village, Mordovia

***Compiled by* Tatiana Chernova**

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The Presidential "Western"

Boris Yeltsin has come up with disarmament initiative and expects the well-to-do West to help Russia climb out of the economic abyss. His three-day trip to London, New York Washington and Ottawa was one more appeal to the common sense of Western leaders

Marina Shakina

In but three days three countries, three capitals, the UN headquarters and the country residence of the US President. Russia's President seemingly sought to set a world record. For that matter, the Russian newsmen covering his trip to North America and the UK could hardly maintain this frantic tempo. We are used to appreciating our leaders for their globe trotting desires, but it was enough to examine the programme and keep up with the President to realize that only your husky Siberian could take it. These were no pleasant strolls in well-appointed places as the layman might think, but a never-ending strain, not only from the work that had to be accomplished, not only from the ever-present public eye, but also from the dire need to patiently keep at bay the obtrusive and abrasive attention of newsmen and press photographers. Indeed, at the joint news conference Yeltsin had with the Canadian Premier, I couldn't but feel compassion for the Russian President and his team.

There was more than enough reason to go trotting off to London, New York, Washington and Ottawa. What first had to be done was to discover what world politicians thought of Yeltsin's latest disarmament and arms-control bids. Then came a summit of the heads of state in the UN Security Council, where Russia débuted as a full-fledged member. The paramount objective though, was to get the leaders of the world's wealthiest and most influential states to help Russia. Her economic reform is the world's last chance, while her troubles involve the world community, President Yeltsin untiringly impressed. Now and again his reproach was too obvious.

The bids that concern military affairs, which Yeltsin published before his trip, were to show the entire world that Russia wanted disarmament and world stability and was prepared to cooperate with her erstwhile opponents. On the other hand, they were to furnish an earnest of hopeful economic aid from the West. In short, the two basic, military and economic, topics were in effect the two sides of one coin, implying Russian expectation of support.

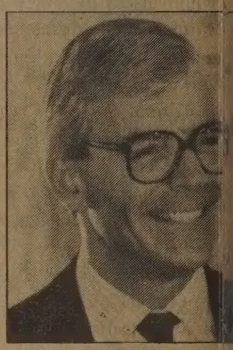
London gave a rather misty welcome. Indeed, what mainly occupied the few hours spent in London was a visit to No. 10 Downing Street plus tribute to Mrs Thatcher so much loved by the Soviet people.

What No. 10 Downing Street looks like is as familiar to televiewers as the green sward outside Washington's White House. As this was President Yeltsin's first visit to Downing Street, long before he showed up reporters and press photographers dangling microphones and TV cameras crowded into the narrow defile in front of the building.

Outside the entrance a special three-tier platform, reminiscent of scaffolding, had been erected for the newsmen and though the British Bobbies rather condescendingly viewed them, the moment Yeltsin drove up, the journalists were all crowded onto this platform. All that one heard during the meeting between John Major and Boris Yeltsin was the clicking of cameras and the hiss of automatically rewinded film. I must say that TV men and press photographers were disappointed with Yeltsin's manner, as he never looked at them and seemed to fumble.

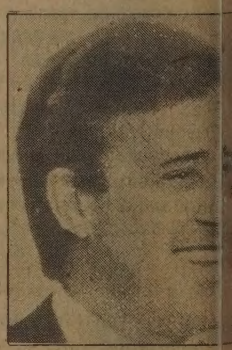
When Mrs Major emerged on the porch without her overcoat, Mrs Yeltsin immediately divested herself of that garment. Meanwhile news reporters, jumping up and down, cried "Yeltsin! Yeltsin!" in futile attempts to attract his eye. Suddenly I heard amidst the roar a loud Russian voice ask the Russian President how he felt in these surroundings. No doubt one thing that politicians feel in such an atmosphere must be the realization that the teeming mass of newsmen are on the other side of the railings.

When Mrs Major and Mrs Yeltsin re-emerged to set out on an excursion around London, cameras



John Major: Join the IMF!

George Bush: We'll think about it



Brian Mulroney: Canada gives money

again clicked. However, photographers soon groaned when they got into their car and drove off. Meanwhile at No. 10 Downing Street itself, the two leaders began their discussions. At the same time, at the Treasury and the Ministry of Defence, Yegor Gaidar and Marshal Shaposhnikov discussed their own particular problems.

At any rate, the results attained in London added up to a successful beginning, even though Mr Major said that since the UK's 500 nuclear warheads could scarcely compare to the number the USA and Russia had, it was not worthwhile discussing them at present. Otherwise Britain offered help to organize the demolition and utilization of dismantled warheads. Note that Soviet experts believe the relevant British technology best. The UK also agreed to take a hand in tackling the problem of Soviet nuclear physicists and organize a foundation for joint research. As for economic aspects, the UK advised Russia to join the IMF and promised to use its influence to that end. If this comes about before April begins, it may well be that the UK will guarantee within IMF's framework more export credits and investment to the tune of 500 million pounds sterling.

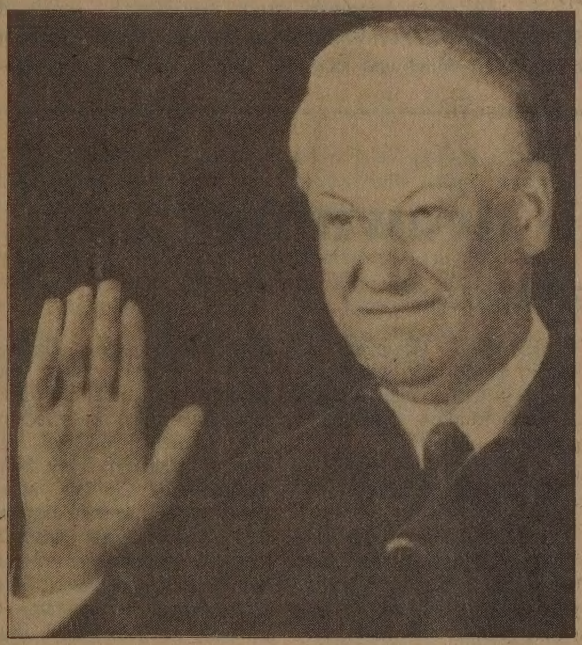
Charismatic Russian politicians

"I think it time to raise the issue of a worldwide system for protecting the world community, based on a reoriented US SDI coupled with the Russian defence complex's high technologies."

Addressing Security Council member heads of state, Yeltsin dwelt on three basic points, which in succession are the dismantling of Russia's former totalitarian regime and her economic reform with its attendent difficulties, safety for the world community and the new military partnership between Russia and the USA and other countries, and, finally, human rights and the pardoning of Russia's last ten prisoners of conscience. Naturally, the military aspect caught the public eye, going at any rate, by the questions with which newsmen bombarded Russia's representative at the news conference given by Yeltsin's press secretary Pavel Voshchanov and at another press conference which the Russian President and his team gave.

Let me note that after Voshchanov's news conference, he found himself literally mobbed by reporters. No wonder, as what he had told these perceptive gentlemen was well nigh sensational. Thus, he had said that none of the other CIS republics except Russia, had any tactical nuclear weapons left, and that as for strategic weaponry there, it was no longer pointed at any definite targets.

Reporters excitedly wondered whether it had been possible to get all tactical weapons out of Ukraine in but one fortnight and immediately buttonholed nuclear arms expert Andrei Kokoshin and MFA press secretary Vitaly Churkin. Eyes round, Kokoshin explained that according to the time-table, tactical weapons were to be brought out of Ukraine by July. Churkin facetiously remarked that the charisma Russian politicians generate derived from their intriguing habit of saying what they each thought.



Boris Yeltsin: not happy with Big Seven policies

In other words, this sensation was short-lived. At his news conference, answering a bluntly put question, Yeltsin remarked on the score that neither Byelarus nor Kazakhstan had any more tactical weapons, but that in Ukraine, such weapons were being withdrawn, which would go on until July. As for strategic weapons, they, he said, were on the alert.

Another sensation was produced when Yeltsin introduced Vladimir Lukin as Russia's new ambassador to the USA. Evidently Yeltsin seeks to reorganize the MFA and mount a noteworthy diplomatic offensive, which is borne out by the appointment of diplomatic old hand Yuli Vorontsov as State Councillor for international affairs and this new appointment for Lukin, who has chalked up experience both in the MFA and in parliament as chairman of the respective Supreme Soviet Committee. Indeed, in Russia, Lukin is reputed as a democrat defending Russia's interests, as was so recently illustrated by the Crimea dispute between Ukraine and Russia.

"I'm on vacation now but only a few days ago I was told I was going with the Russian delegation. Then I learned I had been designated ambassador, to which the Supreme Soviet leadership had agreed," Lukin explained. With a characteristic sense of humour, he added, "But I really don't know what this all means, whether I'm indispensable here, or not needed at all there."

Camp David birthday

We Russian journalists spent the whole night in a bus travelling from New York to Camp David. Losing our way, in the early hours of the morning, we tried to get local farmers to tell us where President Bush's summer residence was, but they wouldn't tell. Luckily, we discovered a marine post and so got to our designation.

Despite the present Russian leadership's obvious desire to cooperate with and partner the USA, despite all invocations and bids, designed above all to see what President Bush thinks about them, the USA is, surprisingly enough, demonstrating restraint and moderation, a point that has been globally underscored. The impression is that our fervent appeals to fraternize somewhat baffle. Which, incidentally, Yeltsin himself appears to feel, as we are getting more economic and technological assistance from Europe. At any rate, at Camp David the

two Presidents were to discuss Yeltsin's military initiatives and his economic reforms.

Despite the chilly wind, marines in full dress uniform kept newsmen away from the landing pad where Yeltsin's chopper was to land. In the hangar, into which we newsmen were taken to warm up, the final preparations were made for a coming news conference. The ordinariness was surprising. No more than two flags arranged against blue drapery, two microphones, a special platform for TV cameras and in one corner several young marines, their white gloves removed, rubbing frozen hands.

The few minutes for the sake of which we had travelled overnight and exposed ourselves to frost were indeed fleeting. On the other hand, at Camp David we accomplished what we had not been able to do in London. We newsmen were able to mob the two presidents, to ask them a couple of questions. At the same time, we wished Yeltsin many happy returns of the day. Yeltsin said his all birthday present was his get-together with President Bush. The latter noted that he was taking at full value Russia's disarmament bids and the new model presented for a Russian-American partnership.

Though their meeting did not produce any overly impressive results, Yeltsin was delighted, evidently having at the back of his mind the Olympic Games motto, which is that what is important is not the result but participation. But, as far as results go, we might mention one birthday present, a typically Texan pair of high boots that Yeltsin got.

Most-favoured-nation treatment

Yeltsin's Ottawa visit came on the spur of the moment. The five-hour trip made there had been suggested by Canadian Premier Mulroney. This, however, was more than simply a courtesy gesture. Indeed, a five-year agreement was signed to supply Russia with 250 million tons of Canadian grain, and most-favoured-nation treatment was extended – to be ex-

RUSSIA–USA

Saving the drowning

Do not rely only on rescue

This time Boris Yeltsin travelled to the West, not only mandated by a great independent state, but also representing a country that at long last had taken the first decisive steps to regear from totalitarianism to a market economy, although the whole world clearly realizes that this jump on its own hook is incredibly difficult if not impossible.

The basic issue, so furiously debated by the industrialized nations and in the USA itself, is whether to furnish massive aid towards radical economic reform or go no further than to save the population from hunger and desease. To put it otherwise, should they toss out a financial lifebelt, by catching which Russia and the other CIS states could pull themselves out of the economic morass, or just have them keep afloat.

In London, Yeltsin scored a breakthrough, when UK Premier John Major as first of the Big Seven leaders officially announced willingness to back the formation within the foreseeable future of a stabilization fund to ensure ruble convertibility. However, at Camp David the Americans went no further than wishing Russia well in her uphill toil to a market economy.

Keeping afloat

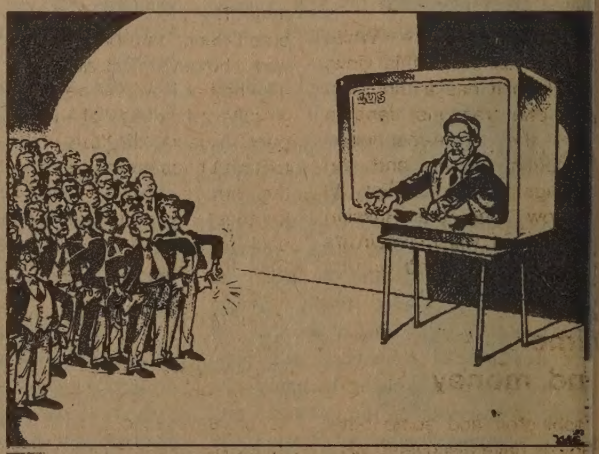
President Bush recently announced plans to ask Congress to approve another $645 million in gratuitous aid, which along with grain credits, would add up to around $5 billion.

This was no easy gesture for the President at a time of economic recession, though hustings, and charges of indifference with respect to domestic issues.

According to EC statistics, Germany accounts for 57.1 percent, Italy for 7.4 percent, the other Common Market countries for 11.1 percent, and South Korea for 3.6 percent of the total sum of credits, loans, guarantees, and donations extended to the former USSR since last September. Against the background of Germany's contribution, the US share of but 6.5 percent, mostly in the form of guaranteed loans for grain purchases, appears rather modest. True, the Americans say that the Germans have been rewarded by the immense political dividends accruing firstly from reunification. On the other hand, the end of the cold war and the erstwhile USSR's loss of superpower status and stance as the USA's arch-enemy represents a paramount geopolitical win for America as the West's leader.

Western liberals are convinced that against the background of the trillions of dollars spent to opose the Soviet armed threat, the size of aid for successful reform is most unassuming.

However, those who think otherwise and who advocate a pure market economy claim that help in tackling financial and other macro-economic problems would only spoil the Russians, the Ukrainians and the others. The conservatives suggest that we should pull ourselves up by our own bootstraps, and that the West should go no further than private business initiative and advice as to how to create such basic institutions as property ownership, entrep-



Reproduced from Die Welt (Germany

tended too to other CIS republics, as was emphasized by the Canadian Premier at a news conference. Canada is likewise to furnish a new $100-million credit and to contribute to the modernization of Russia's oil and gas industry. A group of Canadian businessmen is to go to Russia to explore venues for cooperation. Finally, the two leaders invited one another to visit their respective countries.

Though Yeltsin looked tired at the news conference that followed, he was brisker than his team, experts and we fagged out Russian journalists. His tiredness was perhaps noticeable only in the somewhat sharp tone he took, when one of my Russian colleagues put a none too appropriate question about his decree on the fusion of the Russian police and KGB and also when one Canadian newsman wondered whether Yeltsin thought Gorbachev could still bring much benefit to Russia. Yeltsin said that Gorbachev, with the Russian government's assistance, had set up the Foundation he now heads, and that it was in this capacity he could benefit Russia.

However, when Yeltsin mentioned Mulroney, one could sense a genuine feeling of gratitude. Reproaching the Western countries again for having wasted seven months only talking about assistance, but not doing anything concrete, he left Canada out. When Mulroney was asked to say what he thought about Yeltsin, he said the Russian leader was extremely energetic, a politician who was not afraid of hazarding his popularity to push through decisive economic reform.

In Ottawa, Yeltsin was somewhat taken aback when met by a guard of honour. But saluting the guard of honour once again, before emplaning for Moscow, his customarily stern face broke into a grin to thus disclose not only pleasure over the warm reception accorded in Canada, but also satisfaction at having at last completed such an intensive three-day programme.

eneurship and a sound nonetary system. I must say his is more reminiscent of vhat some ex-compatriots it Brighton Beach so naively laim, "We made headway," hey say, "so why not roll up our sleeves and do somening." May I note in this connection that centuries spent building up a free soc-ety is one thing, while taking advantage of its fruits is quite another. As I see it, the conservatives are succumbing to an illusion, when they hink that nature will take its course and that those principles, which even in the West lid not always come across s, for instance, during the Great Depression, will win out.

Nevertheless, the White louse inclines to this view, or which it has a thousand nd one reasons ranging rom the afore-mentioned conomic factors and the ustings to an uncertainty as o how long the Russian overnment will maintain its esolve to go ahead with its conomic reforms.

Time and money

Washington and some other apitals have discovered what ney think is the golden mean.

The Big Seven plans to refer aid for reform to the IMF and the International bank for Reconstruction and Development. Indeed, both have accumulated extensive know-how in drafting recommendations for economic restructuring and its supervision. Washington finds particularly important the fact that resources thereto will come from the IMF and the World Bank, not from the Federal Budget to which so many in the US itself look. John Major will also try to push through the IMF the project for a ruble stabilization fund.

However, this raises at least two objections. One is time. The idea is to join the credit-users club before April ends; however, it is not clear as whether it will be possible to take advantage of this at once. Russia and the other CIS republics are currently in the throes of one of the knottiest reform phases and each new day of delay is extremely hazardous. Addressing journalists in New York, Yegor Gaidar argued that the creation of a stabilization fund and the IMF entry should be taken as two separate issues. To my mind, his explanations show it is hard to expect anything positive as regards a stabilization fund before summer begins.

The second issue is the amount of assistance. Russia alone will need between $10 billion and $12 billion over the immediate future to import food and other goods, and to stabilize the ruble and its balance of payments. However, experts calculated that the IMF and World Bank entry will spell the early receipt of but a $3 billion loan. True, the British think there will be enough to cover a ruble stabilization fund.

Conservative influence on the US Administration was expressed in that at Garden City, US representatives categorically opposed currently helping Russia to set up a stabilization fund for a convertible ruble.

Commenting with characteristic bluntness on the Big Seven stance at his UN news conference, Boris Yeltsin said:

"I am neither disappointed nor delighted with their attitude. Talk has been going on for seven months, but regrettably, nothing is done which is extremely dangerous. Today Russia has her last chance to uphold democracy, which the whole world must know. By saving kopeks today they may lose millions tomorrow."

However, the Americans are still thinking. No wonder, as most believe Russia, unlike the former Soviet Union, is simply unable to wage a cold war, inasmuch as apart from economic weakness, the conventional CIS armed forces are today at a low combat level, While Russia's influence outside the former USSR may be ignored in view of its insignificance as compared to the Western stance.

At any rate, though the CIS will be helped to keep afloat, over the foreseeable future at least, we shall have to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps.

Yevgeny Rusakov,
NT correspondent

NEW YORK

The unpredictable President

Galina Sidorova

"Does Russia still have its President, and if yes, where is he?" Boris Yeltsin's impetuous overseas tour has furnished the answer to this question. The President is with us. He is with George Bush, John Major and Brian Mulroney. Nevertheless, Yeltsin's sudden disappearance a week ago has left a nasty taste in my mouth. I remember intercepting puzzled and compassionate glances darted at me by the old acquaintances of mine in Secretary Baker's entourage and by my foreign colleagues who had arrived in Moscow for another phase of the Middle East Conference.

It was precisely Boris Yeltsin who had insisted on the Conference being held in Moscow despite all the expenses involved on the grounds that it was Russia's diplomatic debut, the beginning of its self-assertion in the world community, and that the chance was not to be missed. Nevertheless, the Russian President did miss his chance: he never made his appearance at the Conference opening ceremony where, as the journalists and participants had been notified in advance, he was to have made a speech of greetings.

The Middle East Conference is a routine event, of course, and the President might have had more urgent domestic problems to attend to. It was rather difficult, however, to explain to Japan's Foreign Minister Watanabe, who had come over not so much for the Conference as for a meeting with Yeltsin, why he was not received at the appointed time contary to all the diplomatic rules and etiquette. Neither was the Japanese guest alone to receive such treatment. Theodor Waigel, Germany's Minister of Finance authorized by his Western colleagues to negotiate large investments in our economy, found himself in the same position last September. During his recent visit, State Secretary James Baker had to readjust his Moscow schedule until the last moment. Juan Antonio Samaranch, President of the International Olympic Committee, also had to wait a bit. He was granted an audience, after all, to become the last of the officials within journalists' reach to see the Russian President before his disappearance.

Two days later Yeltsin surfaced on board the Moskva submarine hunter in the company of his Defence Minister. That more or less accounted for his absence, except that the representatives of the Russian leadership had not agreed on what to say and, therefore, said different things.

What is behind the eccentricities of the Russian leader who permits himself to make last-minute changes not only in the schedules of official appointments but also in his opinions (just compare his two statements on the problem of Soviet ethnic Germans – one made in Germany, and the other, in the Volga Region shortly afterwards)? Is it poor health? Or, perhaps, bad habits which are treated with understanding in polite society but which may have catastrophic consequences for our nuclear power and for the rest of the world?

In any normal country, information about the leader's state of health is readily available to the public on request, but in this particular case health matters take a back seat to something else, I think.

The communist system has collapsed but its leaders' mentality has survived. This mentality is marked by disrespect for all and sundry, be it compatriots or colleagues, mixed with arrogance and ill breeding. Now and again, the high-handed manner of a Regional Party Committee Secretary or of the Saltykov burgomaster show: "All appointments cancelled tonight." No reasons given, of course.

The civilized world expects us to behave in a civilized way

Such behaviour could, perhaps, be explained away by the grim realities of the Cold War, but only up to a point. Today, all this only goes to show that our country still has a long way to go to real democracy which, besides legal criteria, sets a certain standard of education and conduct for the whole of society in general and for its leaders, in particular.

Alas, the Russian leaders' assurances to the effect that the country has shed communist shackles sound more like communist incantations with the reverse sign. There is no normal democratic alternative to Boris Yeltsin. The adoption of the Russian Constitution has been delayed, although it is high time our voters were given guarantees that they can re-elect their leader upon the expiry of his constitutional term of office, or elect a new one.

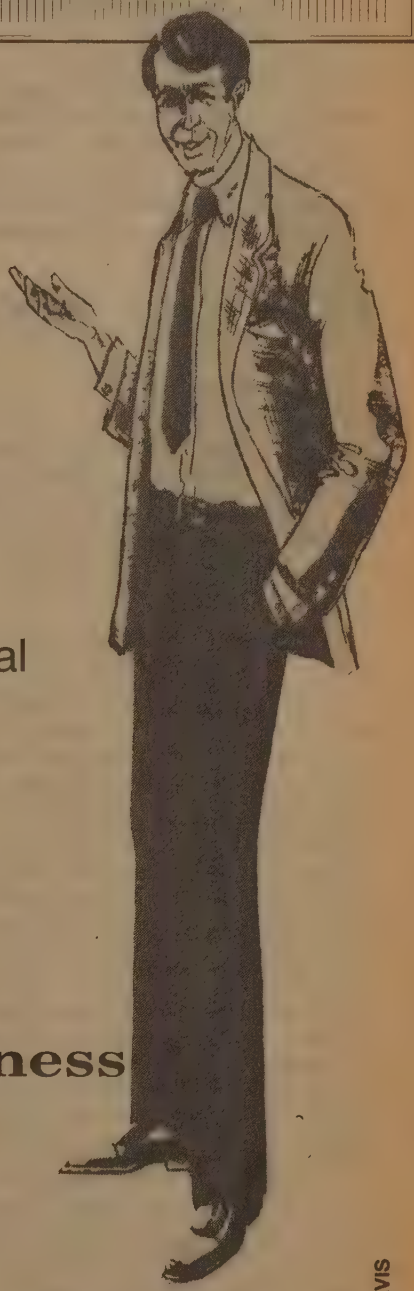
This partly explains why, despite mutual compliments, the Americans are not in a hurry to accept the nuclear disarmament plan suggested by the Russian leadership, which includes such an unheard-of component as a common space protection sytem – the Russian-American SDI, as a matter of fact. An entirely new level of confidence can be attained only given a 99-percent trust in your partner. So far, the West has enough cause for anxiety: the Soviet threat has not disappeared but broken up into a multitude of components including economic chaos on one-sixth of the globe, dubious control over the nucear button and over the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and, last but not least, the instability and unpredictability of Boris Yeltsin himself.

■

Attention all business people!

We're young,
but skilled.
We're young,
but nevertheless,
have something
to offer you:

insurance of fixed assets
and statutory funds, of commercial
deals, of risks involving unpaid
credits – this is only one of
the ways we can help you...



OSTIN

– this is business at no risk!

Our address: 620077, Yekaterinburg, POB 92
Telephone: (3432) 56-25-74, (3432) 56-32-53
Fax: (3432) 56-25-74

AVIS

RUSSIA – UKRAINE

Peninsula of contention

The talks between Russia and Ukraine about the future of the Black Sea Fleet failed. The Russian Parliament began discussions on the question of the constitutionality of joining the Crimea to Ukraine. If the corresponding resolution is adopted, according to the opinion expressed by Chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for International Relations, Vladimir Lukin, "the Ukrainian leadership will be faced by the dilemma – either to agree to handing over the Fleet and the bases to Russia or to revise the right Ukraine has to the Crimea." In the meantime, President Kravchuk pins his hopes on Boris Yeltsin alone, who has repeatedly confirmed that Russia has no territorial claims on Ukraine.

We and you both remember...

Deputy Chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for International Relations **Yevgeny AMBARTSUMOV** expounds on the position of the Committee with regards to the Crimea problem in an interview with *New Times* correspondent.

New Times. Why has the Committee adopted the resolution stating that the joining of the Crimea to Ukraine was unconstitutional. As early as 1990, when the Russian-Ukrainian agreement was ratified, some delegates insisted that the question of the Crimea must be mentioned in the agreement. Your Committee did not support this demand then. How would you explain this evolution in viewpoints of the members of your Committee?

Yevgeny Ambartsumov. I wouldn't call it an evolution. It's a specification of the position. Until lately we haven't had in-depth historical and political information about the circumstances surrounding the joining of the Crimea to Ukraine. Our hypothesis about the absence of legal grounds of the 1954 act is at present, I'd say, more than corroborated by newly discovered documents and facts. Their discovery is largely to the merit of retired admiral, professor of history, Kazimir Stolbo.

In January of 1954 Khrushchev, who was at that moment in Kiev, said that they had decided to hand over the Crimea to Ukraine to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the reunion of Russia and Ukraine. Later he told Shepilov who still was in his good graces at the time that this decision was explained by the pressure exerted on him by Kirichenko, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee's First Secretary, and other Ukrainians in the CPSU leadership. He couldn't refuse it to them, because they loved him so much.

On February 1, 1954, Suslov sent Khrushchev a letter which contained a suggestion to schedule the session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for February 19 to consider the "joint representation" of the republics concerned with the transference of the Crimea from the Russian Federation to Ukraine. The letter had been obviously inspired by Khrushchev – he needed something in order to raise the question at the Politburo. Enclosed was a scenario of the session and a list of those who would take the floor.

No traces of the "joint representation" has been found in the archives. The resolution about the transference of the Crimea was adopted on February 5 by the Presidium of Russia's Supreme

Boris Yeltsin said in Novorossiysk that the Crimea question can be settled only by its residents. The Movement for a Free Crimea, holding a rally in Sebastopol

Soviet, without the required quorum, by the way, and on February 13 by the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. According to the Constitution in force at that time, such resolutions could be adopted only by the supreme body of power of a republic – the Supreme Soviet, which was not the case. It was a negligence, a mere oversight, however, even the formalities stipulated by the Russian Federation Constitution of the time were not observed.

NT. The actions of your Committee are meant to make an appeal for the revision of the borders.

Y.A. The proposal of our Committee to consider as unconstitutional the transference of the Crimea to Ukraine must not be interpreted as a challenge to Ukraine. After all, both Ukraine and Russia were in those days nothing more than pieces of a totalitarian system and objects of arbitrary actions by the ruling elite. Our peoples had nothing to do with these decisions.

There is another implication in the matter. Quite recently we have denounced as illegal the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and, thus, the fact of the annexion of the Baltic states. So we raise the question of legal steps resembling those which removed the consequences of the Soviet-German agreement of 1939.

When I am asked, why this revision of borders, why these steps shattering the stability in the Commonwealth, I answer by asking: why use a double standard? I mean speaking about the illegal pact of 1939 and forgetting about the illegal nature of the resolution of 1954.

Besides, the resolution adopted by our committee fully complies with our parliament's democratic intentions to restore the rights of repressed peoples. At the moment the Crimea was handed over the Russian people were repressed.

NT. Do you envisage any ways of settling the problem democratically?

Y.A. There may be different ways of settlement. For instance, the case may be considered at the International Court of Justice in the Hague, if, of course, both sides agree to it. A condominium is not ruled out either. A moratorium on the revision of borders within the Commonealth may be agreed upon, provided that the existence of the Crimea question is recognized.

Incidentally, the Russian-Ukrainian agreement of 1990 contains the clause providing for inviolability of borders. However, its meaning was immediately specified by the sides: the clause is effective as long as the republics remain in the Union, i.e. within the framework of a certain political whole, but in the case when one of them declares its independence, the matter may be reconsidered on legal grounds. Incidentally, this stipulation was repeated in the first Minsk agreement of the CIS. Later the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet unilaterally adopted amendments to it which Russia rejected.

NT. Don't you think that you made concessions to national patriots and the Baburin-brand great-power unitarianists in initiating the revision of borders?

Y.A. These forces look for a conflict in order to shatter the existing Russian government; their obvious desire is to replace it, acting from restorationist positions. Our stance is progressive, and our aims are absolutely different – we want to develop friendly relations with Ukraine provided the interests of the Russian population are observed. We cannot allow Russians living outside the Federation to feel forsaken and betrayed.

It is noteworthy, incidentally, that the other side is much more self-indulgent then we are. Recently Kravchuk has uttered the word "occupiers," speaking about the Russians in Ukraine and the Black See Fleet, whereas none of the Russian political figures has ever ventured talking about the Ukrainian occupation of the Crimea... I regard such statements as outrageous. People like Kravchuk have ruled Ukraine for decades and, by the way, prevented the repressed Tatars from returning to the Crimea. Russian defenders of civil rights, Academician Sakharov and general Grigorenko, were the first to support the struggle of Crimean Tatars for their rights. Those days no voices in support of the Tatars were heard in Ukraine. The present tone of the Ukrainian nationalist press by far outstrips any of our national patriotic publications. Take, for example, the ethnographic "theories" about "Ukres" – the forefathers of the present Ukrainians and that the word "Ukraine" means not "province," but "the land of Ukres." It reminds me of Ceausescu's ethnographic essays proving that the Romanians are the descendants of the ancient Romans...

Our approach to the Crimean problem is historically justified, politically sound and does not contradict a friendly attitude towards the neighbouring republic; we must prevent the worsening of the political situation and the popularization of pseudo-patriotic views. Russia's national humiliation is fertile soil for dangerous political demagogues of the Zhirinovsky type.

NT. What, in your opinion, can make Ukraine discuss this question at all? So far its leadership confines itself to statements about its territorial integrity.

Y.A. There exists a Russian-Ukrainian negotiation group. The Crimea is only one of many disputable moments in Russian-Ukrainian relations. There are other problems too – for instance, the gas and oil pipes running through the Ukrainian territory to Eastern Europe. The ambassador of Poland to Moscow has complained to me that part of the gas and oil pumped to Poland gets "lost" somewhere in Ukraine.

I don't say that Russia is sinless. We may well make mistakes, oversee certain things, fail to fulfil obligations in the conditions of economic chaos and disruption of economic ties. I only want to say that problems must be discussed and settled.

NT. Ukraine is prepared to discuss economic problems.. However, it refuses point blank to regard the political problem of the Crimea as disputable. Or maybe Russia is not going to tackle seriously the Crimean issue in the near future, and your statement is only a signal to the effect that we remember and you must remember that we do remember?

Y.A. I am talking about the entire set of problems which mar our relations. The participants in the negotiations will decide what problems are to be discussed today and what can be left for better times. However, the Crimean issue is connected with the problem of the Black Sea Fleet as the CIS common property. But who has urged Ukraine to hurry up with the swearing of allegiance? Frankly speaking, this was the thread by which Ukraine pulled down the mountain of problems on our and its own head.

I believe that the situation in the world community will urge Ukraine to get down to the Crimean problem. It's in vain that Ukraine, ambitious to secure a place in Europe, counts on the West, closing the

door to Russia. This is an erroneous idea about the intentions of the West.

NT. If I understand you correctly, you believe that this issue may become a topic of an international discussion, an element of international policy?

Y.A. This is my personal opinion. Which doesn't mean that President Yeltsin is of the same opinion; negotiations, as is well known, are conducted not by parliaments but by governments. Yeltsin is very punctilious in such matters, he tries to avoid crisis situations in the ephemeral edifice that is the CIS. However, neither the president nor the government can disregard the stance of the parliament.

NT. Do you find that the reaction to your statement among democrats is ambivalent? Many believe that such a demarche on your part will only lead to a sharp aggravation of relations with Ukraine?

Y.A. The democratic camp is not homogeneous. The so-called "advocates of a strong state" cannot be excluded from the democratic forces. This is not a CPSU or Zhirinovsky's party. I don't see why Mikhail Astafyev or Victor Aksyuchits should not be considered democrats. And what about Oleg Rumyantsev, leader of Social Democrats? Our positions are the same, he only formulates them in a more strongly-worded way.

Some democrats have in fact rejected this formulation of the problem – these are the people who make democracy an end in itself. If we overemphasize the principle of self-determination of nations, we will have to refuse to recognize as democratic all Western countries which don't permit the Basque Province, Corsica, etc., to secede.

There is a historical legacy, there are geopolitical interests which cannot be rejected. Any state will comprehend our position. Our misfortune is that the Russian government often makes noble political steps without foreseeing their political consequences. I see the main task of our Committee in working out, together with the Foreign Ministry, Russia's strategic foreign policy. We don't know as yet where Russia and its interests end, or what is going to happen tomorrow...

NT. You think there will be no second Crimean War?

Y.A. I consider it the Russian people's greatest wisdom and historical merit that they haven't let themselves become involved in internal and external conflicts, that they haven't given in to Zhirinovsky's appeals. We haven't followed the Yugoslav path.

Interviewed by **Marina Shakina**

How Khrushchev gave the Crimea away to Ukraine

Alexei Adzhubei

In October 1953, right after the full session of the Central Committee which elected him First Secretary, Khrushchev went to the Crimea on holiday. There were no government holiday homes in the Crimea then. Stalin preferred the Caucasus where numerous villas had been built for him and for those he enjoined to be his guests. The Khrushchevs settled down in the Vorontsov Palace, a pompous building at the very edge of the sea. Those were my second baronial chambers – in Moscow, I had lived for years in the Vorontsovskaya Street mansion which used to belong to the same grandee.

Nikita Khrushchev could have hardly imagined that the tranference of the Crimea to Ukraine, which he considered a great event cementing the friendship between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples for centuries, would become a stumbling block in the relations between Russia and Ukraine forty years later

Khrushchev vacationed in a peculiar manner. Tormented with forced idleness, he spent a few days roaming park alleys, taking long walks along the "Tsar's Path," and poring over some documents on the beach. He could not swim and ventured into the water only atop an inflated car tyre; even the slightest choppiness scared him. Then he got tired of all that and thought up a new occupation. One fine morning he told us, after breakfast, that he felt like spending a couple of days out on the plateau and seeing the steppeland Crimea where he had never been before. Rada and I "forced" our company on him.

I must say that travelling along the Crimean serpentine roads wasn't much of a joy then. Asphalt was broken in many places and we had to make long detours, the engines of our old ZIM limousines got overheated now and then; before crossing a bridge, we made way for the car which escorted us, and then crawled along through the clouds of greyish-yellow dust it had raised.

Looking at the modern Crimea with its Simferopol–Yalta trolleybus route and its straight multi-lane motorways, one finds it hard to imagine how desolate the Crimea was then. It wasn't only the state of the roads that annoyed Khrushchev. While seaside resort towns, in their subtropical glory, showed some signs of life, the mountainscape which unfolded before us on the approaches to, and right beyond, the Ai-Petri pass, was a dreary tract of wasteland.

On the other side of the pass, Krushchev was welcomed by local leaders: Kozlov (a namesake of the would-be Central Committee Secretary Frol Kozlov), Secretary of the Regional Party Committee, and Polyansky, the young Chairman of the Executive Committee. As they answered Khrushchev's questions, he often interrupted them with angry remarks. "What kind of structure is that, over there?" he asked the Regional Commitee Secretary. "That's a poultry farm, Comrade Khrushchev," the latter replied without batting an eyelid. Khrushchev sniffed the air with mock relish – and flew off the handle. "What are you talking about, man? How can you run this region if your nose doesn't tell you the difference between a poultry farm and a piggery?"

Polyansky made up for the awkward situation his patron had got into. He answered Khrushchev's questions precisely and to the point, and Khrushchev liked that. A little later, Malenkov joined us. After the local Party bosses had said good-bye, Khrushchev told him: "We need men like this young fellow in high places, and we've got to send the gasbags like the other one packing, otherwise we'll land in a bad mess."

That was how Polyansky got into Khrushchev's good books without knowing it.

Shortly afterwards, he was appointed Secretary of the Krasnodar Territory Committee which had high prestige in the Party.

Bakhchisarai made the strongest impression on me. Its palace, which turned out to be a ruin, was deserted. The famous weeping fountain, sung by Pushkin, was covered with muddy scab. Its cups had dried up, and crystal-clear drops of water no longer trickled into them. The weeping fountain had run out of tears.

The plateau still breathed the horrible memories of the war. The roads were lined with smashed-up tanks and artillery pieces, and all over the place, as far as the eye could see, there were grey stone obelisks put up in memory of the war dead. The land had dried up and was overgrown with bristly weeds. Tatar villages were deserted. Their former inhabitants, banished to far away cold wilderness by the evil will of Stalin had lost all hopes of coming back. Frankly, I didn't think about that act of genocide then. There wasn't much we knew about then, and our optimism came from ignorance.

These notes are on a subject of my own, not the editor's, choice. Hadn't the "Crimean problem" arisen today, there would hardly have been any need for them. I am not trying to justify somehow the decision made a long time ago to hand the Crimea over to Ukraine. I shall just try to disclose the motives behind that move.

It is noteworthy that in 1953 Khrushchev was not in full control yet. Stalin's closest associates – Malenkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the head of the Presidium of the Central Committee; Molotov, his first Deputy; and men like Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Bulganin. After Stalin's death, Khrushchev, a provincial, was assigned by no means the leading role. He was struggling for power with a stubborness and dynamism characteristic of strong personalities. His advantages over his rivals were a better knowledge of life and contempt for armchair leadership.

Khrushchev's tour of the Crimea was part of his drive for self-assertion. Already at the September 1953 full session of the Central Committee he called Malenkov a liar. Malenkov had told the 19th CPSU Congress that the nation had all the grain it needed; after Stalin's death, however, it turned out that our grain reserve was zero, and the nation had practically nothing to eat. Later Khrushchev clashed with Stalin's "old guards" on many other occasions.

Those early years without Stalin were marked by uncertainty and expectations. This mood should be taken into consideration if one is to understand the meaning of seemingly transient developments which all but passed unnoticed. The handing over of the Crimea to Ukraine fell into that category of workaday matters. It is only now that the Crimea issue sent passions running high in Russia and Ukraine, the two fraternal nations, as if it all happened yesterday rather than decades ago, and as if those who were at the helm of the state then could rise above their political and human notions of what is right.

Unfortunately, none of us can choose the date of his birth and whether one wants it or not be is destined to be a product of his time, a victim or a hero of the generation he belongs to as decreed by fate.

Excuse the digression, and let me now go back to Khrushchev's tour of the Crimea in the autumn of 1953.

Khrushchev was not in a hurry to get to Simferopol, although our hosts insisted that he should stay there for a while and rest from his travels. He had the driver swerve off the main road to a patch of sun-scorched grassland where we would spread out a piece of canvas and share a scratch meal as if the war was still on. What struck and upset Nikita Sergeyevich most of all were the crowds of new settlers who had somehow got wise to his tour.

Silent grey crowds blocked the road and waited as silently, without breaking up, for the cars to stop. Then they would close in on us and wait for Khrushchev to speak – those were tense moments. Then they would start asking questions – about food, homes, aid. Most of the settlers came from Russia, from the Volga, from the Russian north.

I say "came" but what they shouted at us was: "We have been driven in here by force;" that was an anguished cry of people who had despaired of ever settling down to normal life. From the crowd, there came hysterical complaints like: "Potatoes do not grow here, and cabbages wilt away!" Or: "Those bedbugs have sucked all blood out of us." "Why have you come, then?" Khrushchev asked. "We've been cheated," the crowd replied in chorus...

After such encounters, heavy silence set in the car, Malenkov and Khrushchev avoided eye contact for fear of a quarrel. I felt that Khrushchev was seething with rage and was about to explode any moment, but he either calmed down or wisely saved his breath.

At dusk, when it was time to think about a place to spend the night in, Khrushchev spotted a small military airfield a short distance away from the road and told the driver to turn towards it. An old shabby Douglas stood on a dirt runway, all alone. A few seconds later, a frightened young lieutenant emerged from a summer cottage, ran up to us and tipped his cap, obviously at a loss to know what to say. Khrushchev asked the lieutenant about the plane and, to his guards' horror, suggested a flight to Kiev. The guards warned him against the venture, to which Khrushchev replied that the young officer, the plane's pilot, had volunteered to fly us to Kiev, and there was no cause for worry.

A few hours later we landed in Kiev's city airport. The distinguished guests were greeted by cheering crowds. The arrival of Malenkov and Khrushchev set tens of thousands of people agog. The car which was to take the guests to their residence got its door torn off. Finally, the motorcade set out for the centre of Kiev to a loud chorus of cheers. Such an enthusiastic welcome was not to be wondered at: after all, Khrushchev made his first visit, without any warning, to his beloved Ukraine.

In the evening, Kiev's leaders gathered in the Mariinsky Palace. The dinner was a gay and noisy affair. As was the custom then (and probably still is, for all I can tell) obsequious toasts were proposed one after another. Khrushchev shared his impressions of the Crimea at length and called on the Ukrainians to help revive farming there. "The Crimea needs southerners who prefer fruit and maize to potatoes," he said.

That was the first time I watched, at close quarters, Khrushchev talking with top Party executives. He had a special gift for pep-talking people into action. A born leader, he had mastered the art of "searing the hearts of men with the word" to perfection. At the table, there was no talk of transferring the Crimea to Ukraine's rule. Khrushchev had probably not arrived at the idea yet.

The handover happened later, and its formal procedure was covered by the press.

In the early spring of 1954, my two *Komsomolskaya Pravda* colleagues – the feature writer Ilya Kotenko and the photographer Nikolai Drachinsky – and myself travelled far and wide in Ukraine. We sent to our paper features devoted to the 300th anniversary of the Ukraine's reunification with Russia. What we saw and what we wrote about had no bearing whatsoever on Khrushchev's "gift" to Ukraine, and the very problem of whether the Crimea belonged to Russia or to Ukraine didn't make much difference to us. While reading the story "In the Crimean Ukraine" now, I have found not a single line on the subject there. Who of us could imagine then that the move would be disputed 38 years later, and that political passions would ever carry us so far from plain common sense?

I wonder what would have happened had Khrushchev carried out his intention to transfer the national capital from Moscow to Kiev. Khrushchev had repeatedly broached the topic. "Kiev is the mother of Russian towns," he would say. "The air is cleaner there, in more senses than one..."

After a long talk with Janos Kadar who insisted that a part of the Transcarpathia with a 90-percent Hungarian population be reverted to Hungary, and offered a compensation for that in land and money, Khrushchev suggested the matter be decided by a court of arbitration. He realized there were quite a few territorial issues inside and outside the country which called for reasonable settlements. He achieved a peaceful settlement of a "border dispute" between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan (in one region, the administrative division between the two republics was such that local Uzbek cotton growers had to take their raw cotton to a ginnery which was 200 km away from their fields.) It would never have occured to Khrushchev that the Russians and the Ukrainians would ever wrangle over the Crimea. Remarkably, none of the MPs involved in the dispute has suggested what would be only logical and fair – that the Crimea be given back to the Tatars whom Stalin had once banished from their native land!

They are losing their patience

Half-starving gold miners no longer want to put up with it

Gennady Ariyevich

Shanties of gold miners

Photo by Vladimir Volkov

What do we know about Yakutia? Frankly speaking, not so much. It's very cold there. True, they say winter is unusually mild this year – only 40 to 45 degrees below freezing. The night mist lasts for a long time, and the sun is a rare guest. It is widely known that Yakutian diamonds are much in demand and highly valued on the world market. And that's all.

Unfortunately, today we often learn about new geographical places in our country not thanks to our inquisitive bent but owing to severe reality, when these places on the map suddenly become hot spots, exploding with anxiety, misfortune and violence. I arrived in the Republic of Sakha, as Yakutia is officially known now, together with a group of experts and journalists who accompanied Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian parliament. It was a "working" visit with the aim of see ing, with his own eyes, how the economic reform is being carried out. However, it became clear soon that Yakutia was not chosen by chance, that passions are also running high in this faraway and frost-bitten land.

A helicopter brought the honoured guests to the village of Ayik, situated north of the Arctic Circle. Thanks to radio and television, this visit, which took only three hours of the crowded three-day programme, proved the main episode in the trip of the Russian parliament leader. In almost every news release television reported what a dreary impression the life of local reindeer breeders produced on Khasbulatov. Indeed, their stern, evern primitive life differs little from the life of their ancestors.

Khasbulatov was not the first top official brought to Ayik from Moscow, and he was not the first man to have made this surprising discovery for himself. However, everything remains as it was before. Will the life of the herdsmen change this time? The chairman of the Russian parliament said it would be unreasonable and immoral to leave these people to the free play of market forces without aid and support. For this cannot irritate people, let us hope these words, caught up by reporters, were not said for the sake of populism only.

The least irritation was expressed by reindeer team drivers, who treated guests to thin slices of frozen fish. They either were preserving their internal peace of mind without dissipating it on empty emotions, or realized that the authorities cannot take away from them what they do not have. However, the atmosphere grew tense at numerous and widely attended meetings held after the guests had been shown around enterprises or quarries.

At one of such meetings a young man fervently spoke about the increasing tendency which worried him and his comrades, namely, the ever more categorical denunciation of "the great-power ambitions of the Russian centre" from which Yakutia should allegedly break away and live independently, under its national flag and laws and with its own language. Listening to the young man, I could hardly believe that the tendency to secede and establish "an independent state" had reached the snow-covered plains of Yakutia. However, a quiet comment form the audience, "If you don't like it here, go away," confirmed that such a tendency exists.

The journalists who accompanied the Khasbulatov team did not feel manifestations of nationalism or hostility towards the guests on the part of natives. They were affable and well-wishing. True, one official from the staff of the Yakutian Supreme Soviet (parliament) demonstratively shut the door of his office and proudly went away, paying no heed to the appeals of a Yakutian who accompanied us. It was obviously a case of arrogance. It did not occur to us, however, that in this way he defended the rights of his insulted people. As one wittingly noted, some people abase themselves with a feeling of superiority.

One of the most bright impressions of the trip was a huge streamer I saw on top of the administrative office of an ore-dressing mill in the town of Udachny. It said: "Long live the inviolable friendship of the peoples of the SSSR!" At first, I thought that the local authorities forgot to remove the slogan or it was merely a mockery. It turned out, however, that the Russian acronym of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – SSSR – is deciphered as the Sakha (Yakutian) Soviet Socialist Republic. The content of the slogan remains as topical as it was before. A large part of Yakutia's population consists of people who came here in search of a living from the entire Union. There are especially many Ukrainians. All these people do not feel that they are colonizers.

In the extremely hard conditions of the North they mine diamonds and gold which earns hard currency for the country, they work as if in concentration camps, in frost and smog of a huge quarry, receive one or one and a half kilo of meat a month with ration cards, and live with their families in shanties built of planks, with no bathrooms and toilets. Inflation and soaring prices eat away the wages, for the sake of which they had come to work here.

They ran out of patience after the authorities had cancelled some of the "northern" privileges, including so-called "purpose deposits" for the purchase of a car. These deposits – paid cheques for certain sums, which guaranteed the purchase of a car – have not been abolished formally. The authorities.

who already had to sell 51,000 cars to workers of the North, did not renounce on their commitments but now demand that the latter pay a new price for cars, which is ten times higher.

Under strong pressure some concessions have been made. The excise tax on cars has been removed and savings have been doubled. Nevertheless, the remaining sum – more than 100,000 rubles – has to be covered at the expense of buyers or their enterprises, and this makes people feel deceived. The audience always booed when government financial officials tried to give explanations on this question.

Genuine concern was also voiced every time when the state of the Yakutian economy was discussed. The Yakutian economy is geared to the mining of diamonds and gold. However, high taxes, artificially lowered purchase prices, a greater cost of equipment, fuel and electricity, as well as the growth of social tension and the outflow of skilled workers (for the first time in 34 years of diamond mining the workforce has fallen by 2,000), have brought diamond production to the verge of a collapse. We were told that the gold-mining enterprises are likely to come to a standstill by February 9.

Yakutia accounts for over 80 percent of the diamonds mined in Russia and holds first place in the country for gold output. It is the main supplier of tin and the only supplier of antimony. Nevertheless, it is unable to feed its population. All the essential food and goods are delivered within a short period of summer shipments, when the sea is clear of ice – it is the only way. This year the republic could conclude only 15 to 20 percent of the previous agreements for the supply of food and manufactured goods. Of one million tons of cargoes vitally necessary for Yakutia, only 10 percent are ready for shipment from the port of departure.

No wonder that many in Yakutia are more and more inclined to accept attractive offers of aid in exchange for diamonds coming from Korea, Japan and Ukraine. The Yakutian parliament is working out documents, including the Constitution, which is to be adopted regardless of the Russian Constitution. Their aim is to form a fully independent state (though as part of the Russian federation or confederation) that would be the master of its own resources. In this context the statement of Sakha President Yakovlev, that the loss of Yakutian products to Russia cannot be compensated for, and the Russian leadership should be aware of the danger sounded menacing. Ruslan Khasbulatov recognized the need for the republic's greater independence. The forthcoming negotaitions, however, promise to be tough.

Three roads from Moscow

One may be "Prussian"

Igor Bunin and Mark Urnov

Everything has been thrown up in the air in our previous home. Its property has yet to be divided up, the roles and status of its participants have yet to be recorded and legitimized by one another and by the international community. The rules are still messy. Indeed, the new states themselves have a far from clear idea of their interests and aims; moreover, they haven't been officially announced. Finally, owing to the USSR's disintegration, political instability and power struggle have intensified in all CIS republics, which is hence pregnant with political tension, and periodic crises in their relationships with one another. This all engenders powerful centrifugal tendencies, which may thus cause the CIS to break up.

Yet the trend is substantially curbed by their intensive economic and technological interdependence and also by the presence of armed forces, whose very nature will not allow for such rapid "restructuring" as the CPSU and other USSR political institutes. Finally, the West, which does not want to face a chaotic disintegration of the nuclear superpower, also exerts a stabilizing impact. Which all implies that disintegration of the CIS will not take place overnight.

To all practical intents, three options face the CIS.

One is the scenario afforded by Ukrainian leadership who regards the CIS as a phase ensuring a relatively conflict-free divorce merging into cohabitation.

Another is a possible gradual stabilization of the CIS interaction by developing increased coordiantion accomplished with the transfer of some elements of sovereignty to interstate structures.

Fionally, Russia may come to dominate Euro-Asia and most former Soviet republics may become its satellite clients – which may be termed as the "Prussian" road.

How developments will proceed in the long term is virtually impossible to predict. This currently disintegrating supercomplex system may move in any conceivable direction. Obviously the way things go and hwo fast they go will largely hinge upon the "take off." Implying the CIS's initial moves and the relationships emerging among its members. Most importantly, the decisive factor is the policies pursued by Russia and her chief CIS partners, Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

When embracing the Minsk accords, Yeltsin and his team believed trhat the Centre's disappearance would virtually automatically make Russia heir to the USSR, the CIS leader and the generally recognized source for consensus. In other words, it was thought that the other republics would accept Russia as their good "elder brother." Burbulis even believed that all the republics would eventually reintegrate. An essential element here was the hope of preserving the ruble dimension, with Moscow as the centre of monetary system. It was thought that economic reform could be implemented in Russia and the other republics without introducing any new national currencies.

However, recent developments have shown that these hopes were illusory. The conflict with the Ukraine that covers virtually the entire range of military, political and economic issues, has indicated that Russia's "gentle" conversion through consensus into the leader of the Slav alliance and the CIS is out of the question. Consequently, we are faced firstly by a change of allies, with Yeltsin now looking for support not to the Slavs but to Nazarbayev and the Army. Secondly, the conflict with the Ukraine has induced Russia's leaders to modify their political doctrine and more frankly demonstrate Russian greatness. Russia's policy is now tougher and more egoistic, and to a diminishing degree does it depend on consensus and an understanding of its role as arbiter. Further, it differentiates between the republics, dividing them into the "good" and the "bad,"

granting the former "ruble incentive" and threatening the latter with territorial claims and economic sanctions.

Russia's intensified toughness towards the republics derives not only from its conflict with Ukraine, but also largely from the current economic reform, which had originally been conceived as the economic restructuring of the erstwhile USSR under Russian supervision. Under this plan the current soft ruble would become a sound normal currency within one united economic community.

However, this plan flopped, moreover, not only, and perhaps not so much due to the introduction of coupons in Ukraine, Byelarus and other CIS states as to the impossibility of checking Russia's ruble inflation, with the complete distrust in this currency felt by both producer and consumer, and also the unfeasibility of designs to make Russia's budget deficit-free. Thus, Anders Aslund, director of the Stockholm Institute for East European Economic Studies, who is one of Yeltsin's advisers, says the Soviet ruble is retarding reform.

Repudiation of a coordinated CIS economic policy will inevitably induce Russia to adopt a still tougher stance with respect to other CIS members. Russia has already adopted restrictive monetary policy, which means restricting money supply for several other former Soviet republics as, for instance, Georgia under Gamsakhurdia. It has thus politicized credit and finance. Other republics have retorted with increased "couponization" and preparations to introduce their own currencies. This all serves to undermine a united ruble community and to subvert the economic situation in Russia and other CIS states, and has already resulted in escalating reciprocal claims and nationalism.

Russia's toughest move in this respect may come in the form of a new currency, alongside of the ruble. That would spell the factual abolition of the ersatz centre, and the almost immediate loss by the former Soviet republics of all economic independence, attended by their degeneration into junior partners, in other words, a transition to the "Prussian option." For the meantime the Russian government is staying away from this. "We have no intention of introducing our own currency," State Secretary Gennady Burbulis has emphasized, "although Russia could do that most painlessly. However, we share a responsibility for the agreement with the other Commonwealth countries." He immediately followed this up by noting: "For us that would be a forced measure." Nevertheless, a range of political, economic and socio-psychological factors prod the government to take such a decision.

For practical reasons, the foreseeable future will see relations between the CIS countries opt for the "Prussian" road. However, there can be an alternative in the form of tough economic pressure by Russia or such pressure attended by political confrontation.

Observed in the democratic camp that triumphed last August is a split between advocates of economic reform and Russia's peaceful reintegration into world civilization and supporters of a Great Russia who are dead set against Russia's degeneration into a third-rate state. "I have no wish to live in a banana republic," says Alexander Rutskoi.

Some democrats seek to embroil Russia in an interminable dispute over the Crimea, which in effect will eventually transcend the relationship between Russia and Ukraine. Indeed, last August 17 Yeltsin declared that were frontiers recut, there would be no end to it, and that there would be nothing but hostility and bloodshed.

Proceeding form the concept of a Great Russia, the "nationalism of soil origin" may easily develop into "nationalism of blood origin," with the "democratic patriots" joining hands with the "plain patriots." Thus invited to the Congress of the Civic and Patriotic Forces of Russia, which is to take place this coming February 8-9, are not only Igor Shafarevich, who is busy looking for "small nation" within Russia, and Sergei Baburin, who is trying to salvage Soviet statehood in the Russian parliament, but also White House defender Alexander Rutskoi.

For the time being the likelihood of this scenario seems rather marginal, firstly because the "democratic patriots" are bluffing and engaged in political tricks rather than mounting a new Crimean campaign, and secondly, because due to Russian pacifism and isolationism, any new military campaign will lead to similar ends as the Caucasian war against General Dudayev, meaning to nothing.

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

We are bizarre once again

Lev Bezymensky

It is a pleasure to read thought-provoking articles in the magazine where one works. It seemed to me that such was the article by G.Diligensky "Yeltsin's game in Mittelspiel" published in the last issue. However, thinking does not necesserily result in agreement. Therefore, following the well-known rule according to which "no good deed should remain unpunished," I want to ask myself and readers a few questions, though realising that there can be no indisputable answers to them.

My dear colleague believes that we have a multiparty system, but no ruling party. Here is my first question: do we really have a multi-party system in Russia? Yes – formally. I phoned to the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice and the answer was readily supplied: according to the registration data, we have 18 parties, more than in, say, the United States or in the motherland of parliaments – Great Britain. It's not for nothing that we have always been credited with a masterly ability "to catch up with and surpass anvanced capitalist countries."

But is a quantitative criterion adequate in order to establish whether or not we live in a multi-party democracy? None of the Commonwealth states are formally a one-party country. The destruction of the one-party system took a lot of time and cost us much effort, including taking administrative measures. History (and before it the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation) will pass its judgement on whether and to what extent the cavalry attack of Russian democrats on the CPSU and the Russian Federation CP was justified (both stigmatized with anti-democratism). Anyway, the CPSU is no more. But what happens next?

Here strange things begin to take shape. For we are truly bizarre. Parties appear, get registered, sometimes even disappear – yet no one knows who is behind them. Even the procedure of registration doesn't guarantee anything: so far we don't know the secrets of Mr. Zhirinovsky's party which managed to pass all the hurdles of the registration procedure with inconceivable easiness. It is also true that parliamentary elections in which various parties compete, a time-proven and effective means of verification, have never been held here. The electorate's preferences have never been consulted.

The composition of the Russian parliament is a direct consequence of this oddity. I wouldn't like to hurt those who have long since tried to build the party infrastructure of the new Russia. We know Travkin's Democratic Party, the Rumyantsev-headed Social Democrats, and the Aksyuchits-led Christian Democrats. We've also heard of Constitutional Democrats. It would be an exaggeration to say that Russia's political life rests on parties. Alas, it flows of itself, independently of party involvements, mainly because parliamentary factions are formed on the basis of some incongruous mixture of political and professional principles: the Social Democratic faction sides with Republicans; there is also an agrarian faction. All this resembles the Zhirinovsky case – "my mother is Russian and my father is a lawyer"...

Lastly, I would like to object to the statement that today the demarcation line between the "ruling" forces and the opposition is fading away. Exactly the opposite! Now an obvious consolidation of the opposition is taking place, and here G.Diligensky is absolutely right when he says that its "national-patriotic" and "ex-communist" flanks are merging. At first the "ex-communists" were laughed at – is there anyone to follow them or listen to Nina Andreyeva? As it turns out now, there are some. There arises one after another various CPSU "mutants" who don't even try to conceal their spiritual kinship to this party and declare themselves its "successors." These groups have considerably stepped up their propaganda lately, making use of the mounting popular discontent with the policy of price liberalization. Parallel to all this is occuring consolidation and merger of smaller groups and parties. In other republics of the Commonwealth Communist parties are restoring their leading role and even their former names.

An abundance of parties is not yet a multiparty system

Their "dear friends" from pseudo-patriotic groupings are no less active. The group which identifies itself as *Nashi* (lit. "Ours") has successfully spread its activity from St. Petersburg to Moscow and elsewhere throughout Russia. They are making extensive appearence in the streets and on TV news shows, donning black shirts with shoulder-belts or Cossak uniform.

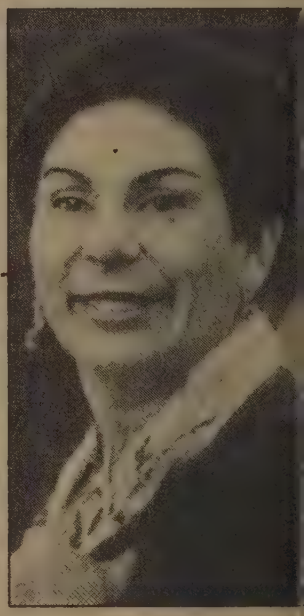
But where are the forces which used to promote democratic reforms? They are somehow receeding to the background, embroiled in their internal controversies, and are lingering with formal organizing into political parties.

The period of CPSU rule has imbued the people with aversion to the very word "party" as a political organization. Perhaps this explains why the Democratic Russia Movement and the Movement for Democratic Reforms are wary of becoming political parties. However, political movements must adapt themselves to the requirements of the time. Democratic changes have engendered the "first generation" of heroes and ideologists of democracy. They must not disappear together with union structures.

We will have a real multi-party system. I hope that the new Rusian Constitution will make the real, structural political pluralism the foundation of the nation's and society's life. Some day...

Dialogue between the deaf and the dumb

We have grapes of wrath, but the fruits of peace are a long way off



David Levy and Hanan Ashrawi – the leading actors at the Moscow Conference...

On the first day of multilateral talks on the Middle East in Moscow the news reporters were allowed to stay only in the press gallery. On the next day they were barred from entering the Hall of Columns, where the conference opened. Nevertheless, it was an unforgettable show.

In the centre of the hall stood a round table with plates bearing the names of delegations. Algeria and Yemen did not send their delegations, and few would pay much attention to their absence. However, it was really sad to learn about the absence of Syria and Lebanon and, without evident reasons, of France and a UN representative. The Jordanian-Palestinian delegation was smaller than expected. Never before did the Hall of Columns see so many Arab sheikhs in their traditional attire. All Persian Gulf states and Saudi Arabia sent their delegations. And this at least was encouraging.

Dollars for beggars

I settled down in the gallery over the place where the delegations of Egypt, Israel and Jordan took their seats in the Russian alphabetical order. I noticed right away that the Egyptians and Israelis sat very close to each other. The younger members of the delegations did not listen attentively to rather tedious speeches. Sometimes they drowsily yawned, though they tried to conceal it for the sake of propriety (diplomats, after all) and even exchanged jokes until the "elders" – the Egyptian and Israeli foreign ministers – looked sternly at them.

There was a wall between the Israelis and Jordanians, not of stone, of course, but a wall of hatred and alienation. A distance of not less than five metres separated them – and, of course, no smiles or whispering. A funny incident occurred in this atmosphere. After the speech by Israeli foreign minister David Levi, when the chairman gave the floor to Jordanian foreign minister Kamal Abu Jaber, the latter went round the table in the opposite direction lest he should meet Levi on the way. Jaber travelled a much longer way to the rostrum, but did not waive his principles.

A diplomat from one of the Gulf states told me that the main concern of their recently opened diplomatic missions in Moscow was to ensure that the sheikhs and princes would not be lodged in one hotel with the Israelis. It was a very hard task since there are only a few five-star hotels in Moscow. Nevertheless, thanks to the "shrewd" diplomacy of Russian government officials no incidents occurred. The Israelis were offered suites in the *Aerostar* Hotel on the Leningrad Avenue and the Arabs in the *Slavyanskaya Hotel* near the Kiev railway station. In both hotels one suite costs 1,200 dollars a day.

This arrangement caused inconveniences to journalists who had to travel the whole day on cars or municipal transport between two different parts of Moscow. As for numerous beggars, they displayed genuine "internationalism" by congregating around both hotels. There was no difference indeed. Both Arabs and Israelis gave them alms in dollars.

The journalists from Israel and Arab states also kept apart – Jews on the left and Arabs on the right side. There were more Israeli journalists than Arab ones, and in the international press centre some Arabs complained that they heard Jewish speech too often. There was division even among Russian journalists. The "patriots" formed their own group. The Moscow newspapers kept together, and only a *Pravda* reporter proudly stayed alone.

Tight security measures were taken at the Moscow Conference. There was fear that Palestinians would appear nevertheless. A joint Soviet-American security service was organized to protect the delegations, guests and journalists. The Russian part of the service was headed by colonel Godunov and the American part by graceful Mrs Melissa Robinson. Though the US part of the ser-

vice was headed by a lady, American guards acted tougher, and they did not enter into frank conversations with reporters.

Russian guards proved more affable. One of them told me that the head of each delegation had two bodyguards in the hall (the numbers of their pistols were registered, just to be on the safe side) and that a thorough search was conducted in the hall before the opening of the conference. Yeltsin was expected to arrive. Yeltsin did not appear, to the obvious displeasure of those present at the conference, and no explanations were given. Nevertheless, the hall was "combed" by his guards with dogs. This naturally annoyed those who had been assigned to protect the Hall of Columns. For the first time in history agreement was reached that the foreign ministers would also pass through control. A representative from each participating country was chosen to watch that the agreement was scrupulously observed. No incidents were recorded.

Principles are more important than water

The speeches delivered in the hall were absolutely correct and did not differ from one another. The Middle East countries should cooperate, not fight. Negotiations are better than armed clashes. The Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 form the basis for any political solution in the Middle East. True, each speaker interpreted these documents in his own way, and for this reason the conference resembled a dialogue between the deaf and the dumb.

Some of the speeches were so beautiful in their literary qualities that they deserved to be published in a literary magazine. Particularly eloquent was the speech of Israeli foreign minister Levi. He promised the Arabs lavish aid that will turn their countries into a blossoming orchard like the Jewish state, predicted an early revival of the "Golden Age" in the Middle East, and urged new repatriates, "peace corps," to become the building blocks, the stones paving the road to peace." "They will also be the nuts and bolts of this peace once it is established," Levi exclaimed. The foreign minister called "to beat the swords into ploughshares, to replace the cups of bitterness with fountains of life and the grapes of wrath with the fruits of peace."

It was a piece of poetry, not the dry prose of diplomatic memoranda. But far from all applauded these poetic effusions. In the verbal honey of David Levi there was much hidden poison for the Arabs who kept silent. "Why?" I asked the foreign minister of Jordan. "At least for the reason that they (Israelis) continue to draw a border between their state and my country along the Jordan river, though Arab land lies on both sides of the frontier," Kamal Abu Jaber replied angrily. "Besides, they continue to teach us how we should live."

The Israeli foreign minister, who was in an elated mood at the conference, cited terrible figures in his speech. The Arab countries and Israel have been in a state of war during the lifetime of two generations. A war broke out three times during the life of each generation. Upwards of 17,000 Israelis and more than 80,000 Arabs were killed in these wars. In the 1980s the Arab states spent over 500 billion dollars on war. But David Levi kept silent about Israel's military expenditure.

A thousand students can study in a university for two years on the money spent on the procurement of one tank. The cost of a modern combat plane equals the cost of the annual study of 100,000 schoolchildren. 500 billion dollars! Compare this sum with five billion dollars spent on the construction of the Aswan Dam in Egypt or ten billion dollars to be spent on a tunnel under the English Channel. The arms race is certainly ruinous and senseless, the minister said with every reason.

Nevertheless, the delegates did not want to listen to each other. Let's take Jordan, for instance. One would think that the questions of economic development, arms control and security, and especially a fair distribution of water resources are more important for the kingdom than the return of the Golan Heights to Syria or an Israeli withdrawal from the buffer zone in Southern Lebanon. All specialists on the Middle East contend that "the next war in the region will break out because of water, not oil." Israel has put forward a number of sensible prop-

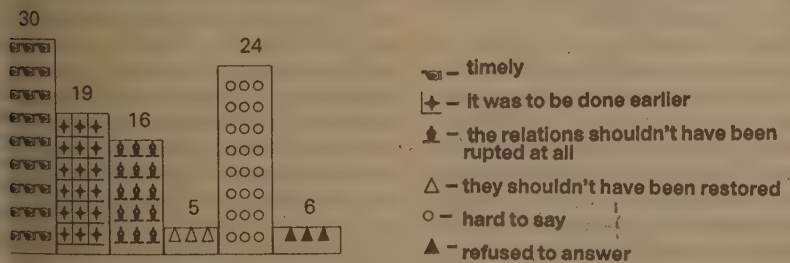
Sociological poll

Public opinion research service VP (Vox Populi) headed by Prof. Boris Grushin

Public attitude to Israel

Our country has restored diplomatic relations with Israel severed in 1967 as a result of a military conflict between the Jewish state and the Arab world. Was it a timely act (in percent of all respondents)?

Here are results of a poll: the decision to resume diplomatic relations with Israel is supported by the vast majority of Russians; a great number of them do this more energetically than the former leadership of the former Union; every third believes that diplomatic relations should have been restored earlier or they should not have been ruptured at all.



The question deliberately stressed that it was a matter of the Jewish state because it was believed that the answers of respondents could be influenced by the former anti-Israeli policy of the former Soviet Union and the anti-Semitic propaganda of various public organizations, including the *Pamyat* (Memory) society. This did not happen, for only five percent of respondents openly disagreed with the diplomatic measure taken by Moscow.

The all-Russia poll was held at the request of the Institute of International Relations of the Russian Foreign Ministry at the end of last year; 2,000 people were approached in the poll.

osals on the redistribution of water resources in such a way that they take losses and Jordan stands to gain. How did Amman react to them? I asked the foreign minister of Jordan why his country does not even want to discuss this concrete problem with the Israelis. Jaber harshly replied: "Principles are more important for us than water."

Nevertheless, the main confrontation at the talks was between Israel and the Palestinians. An argument over Palestinian representatives continued during two days of the Moscow conference. Contrary to the Madrid agreements, the Palestine Liberation Organization tried to include representatives of East Jerusalem and the Palestinian diaspora in the delegation. Control over this was entrusted to the PLO's top officials Suleiman Najab and Yassir Abd Rabbo. The two men did not appear in the conference hall and at numerous press conferences. But, it seemed, they skilfully guided the activity of Palestinians from behind the scenes. On the proscenium were two charming women, Hanan Ashrawi and Zuheira Takha, who courageously and graciously deflected the verbal attacks of hundreds of angry men assembled in the press centre of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

The Palestinian ruse did not work. The tough stand of the Israeli delegation was backed by Moscow and Washington. The "champions" of the Palestinian interests were unable to help the PLO, though security agents found leaflets threatening to kill journalists and politicians as well as emirs and kings of Gulf states who "encourage the state of Zionist gangs," and people without identity cards managed to get into the guarded suites of delegates and called for demonstrations in support of "the just Palestinian cause."

One Palestinian said in a fit of rage: "This meeting is a reward to the aggressors." He is probably wrong, but it is evident that Israel must make concessions. Tel Aviv should realize that the olive branches in the hands of Palestinians can well be replaced with guns. It will then be impossible to hold any negotiations, even futile ones, like the Moscow Conference. The parties did not agree on any basic issue. They merely decided that talks at the level of standing working groups should be continued. Pompous conferences like the Moscow one will not probably be held any longer. It is rumoured that Americans spent 280,000 dollars on the leasing of the Hall of Columns only. And the prices continue to rise.

Yakov Borovoy,
our special correspondent

Premier resigns, problems remain

The Savisaar cabinet was in the first ranks of those who destroyed the Soviet Carthage. When the time came to build a new society it resigned

The Tallinn authorities put out the flame which flickered day and night for many years over the tomb to Soviet soldiers who died liberating the Estonian capital from the Nazis. They explained their action by economic, not political reasons, by the shortage of gas. Few believed the explanation, though everyone knows that fuel is indeed in short supply.

Not only fuel is scarce, however. Bread is rationed in Estonia, with the ration equalling that set during the Second World War. Milk is sold only to those who have children under three years of age. The prices for meat, potatoes and butter are enormous. And this is in a republic which only recently seemed to be a land flowing with milk and honey. This sad reality compelled premier Edgar Savisaar to resign after 22 months in office.

It seemed at first sight that Savisaar, the most popular Estonian politician, the founder and leader of the Popular Front, a brilliant speaker with a quick reaction in critical situations, would remain firmly in the post of premier. For the first time in the last 50 years he formed a democratic government in Estonia. He awakened the Estonians to their national self-consciousness. This made it seem that time was working for him. But it turned out otherwise.

The Savisaar cabinet did much for the legal recognition of the Estonian Republic, for the restoration of its status in the family of civilized nations. At the same time, the premier had to wage a fierce struggle against the Estonian parliament. It seemed odd, because the vast majority of seats in the parliament were won by members and supporters of the Popular Front, that is, Savisaar's associates. However, for those who knew the real alignment of forces in the parliament it was clear that confrontation between the higher bodies of the legislative and the executive power was quite natural.

The associates understood very soon that there were not enough high posts even for the most prominent activists of the Popular Front. Besides, the Front was a mass movement which united quite different politicians for a certain time. They had one strategic goal: Carthage had to be destroyed, the Soviet empire should break up and Estonia had to acquire sovereignty. However, these politicians differed in their tactics, namely, by what methods to ensure Estonia's sovereignty, legally and economically.

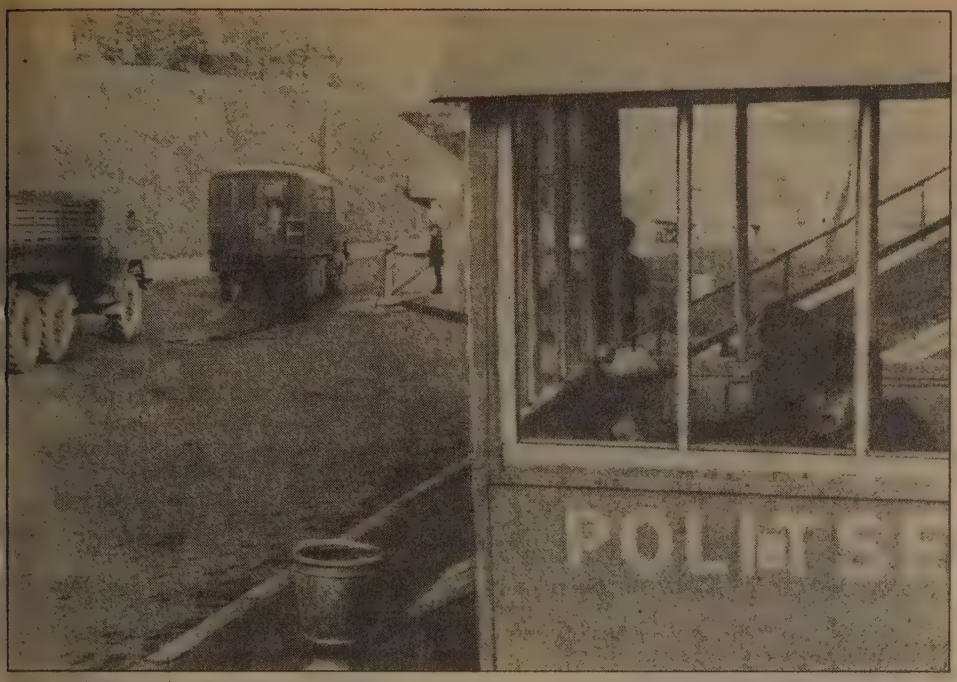
The parliament often blocked or delayed the adoption of the government's plans, and the latter submitted bills which the former could not obviously approve. Both sides agreed that they would rule Estonia only during the transition period, that is, till the world-wide legal recognition of the republic. That is why the cabinet called itself a "government of the transition period."

The unexpected August coup in Moscow played a wicked joke on the Estonian politicians. The "singing revolution," the time of rallies and fervent speeches, was over, and the time came to tackle economic matters. The cabinet announced that from now on it would be a "government of reforms." It should be added here that the movement of national radicals had strengthened. Their Committee of Estonia became a powerful ideological opposition to the parliament and government.

The Committee wants to return the republic to the Estonian Constitution of 1938. One can easily see many weak points in this idea. The world has changed irrevocably over the last 50 years. However, from the standpoint of the native population the Committee of Estonia's programme has more than a few attractive points. For instance, citizenship is restored in such a way that Estonians receive a noticeable advantage over citizens of other nationalities.

The bill on land, drafted in the traditions of 1938, says that "the subjects of privatization of land are citizens of Estonia." This means that non-Estonians, those who came here after the summer of 1940, cannot be owners of land. Neither can they acquire civil rights.

This circumstance has brought about an acute feeling of uncertainty and vulnerability among the future "foreigners" — Russian-speaking residents of the republic, who



It is quiet on the Russian-Estonian border today

Photo from Der Spiegel (Germany)

constitute almost 40 percent of its present population, who are called "migrants," "invaders" and "uncivilized buyers." They make up a greater part of the workforce in Estonian industry, construction and transport and a lesser part in trade and public services.

The division along national lines was consolidated in the economic and legal spheres. The authorities said that the Russian-speaking community had nothing to fear because they had no intention of restricting human rights. It was only a matter of future civil rights which indeed would not be granted to all citizens.

However, human rights champions abroad also saw an alarming tendency in the actions of Estonian authorities, and their anxiety can seriously worsen the chances of receiving Western aid so needed by the republic now when it has been hit by an economic crisis, people stand in long queues for food, and their flats are not heated.

Is the Savisaar cabinet to blame for the troubles which befell Estonia? The premier often strove to achieve political success to the detriment of economic affairs. He flatly refused to listen to opponents and even members of his "team." That is why he was called "Edgar Vissarionovich" (the patronymic name of Joseph Stalin).

A drastic fall in living standards brought about evident discontent among the people. The premier's recent associates and now his opponents immediately took advantage of the situation by urgently founding their parties on the ruins of the Popular Front. In these circumstances Savisaar had no other choice but turn to Russia with the aim of drawing the necessary resources into the republic. But it was late, because Russia also wants to sell its goods at world prices. Besides, no quick returns can be expected from economic reforms within Estonia.

In this situation the national revanchists undertook a new attack against the premier. The parliament was split into factions while its chairman Arnold Rüütel coolly maintained neutrality. The general conclusion was that the cabinet consisted of political adventurers, not efficient managers of the economy. This explains why the "government of reforms" quickly degenerated into a "government of public speakers." The cabinet felt indignant at this conclusion and resigned.

Incidentally, the resignation on his own initiative does not mean that Savisaar will quit the political scene. He continues to be a member of parliament and counts on his abilites and the reputation of a martyr. It is not accidental that a pompous farewell was held in his honour in front of the parliament and government building. His "loyal forces" – troops of the department for protection of the state and frontiers, units of the police department and the chief staff of defence forces – took part in the ceremony.

Edgar Savisaar did not prove to be a very good economist. However, he played his political cards right. A new parliamentary election is to be held this spring. So his successor will keep his post for at the most three months.

The post of premier went to Tiit Vahi, minister of transport in the Savisaar cabinet. In his opinion, the chief mistake of his predecessor was "talking instead of working." Vahi intends to ensure an early adoption of a new constitution (apparently on the model of the 1938 one) and carry out a property and monetary reform. He also intends to renounce populist actions of any kind and get down to practical work right away.

It can be supposed that Estonia will soon begin more persistently to establish direct ties with Russian manufacturers. The question of cooperation with higher bodies of authority of Russia will arise too, and therefore Estonia will have to take a milder attitude to its non-indigenous population. It will certainly provoke a sharp criticism on the part of national radicals. The new premier will argue that in this way he is going to turn Estonia into "a bridge between East and West." It is a fruitful idea. However, the other Baltic states, St. Petersburg and Kaliningrad also intend to play this role.

One thing is evident today. When Estonian democrats dismantled the Soviet institutions they looked progressive and effective. But when the time came to build a new society they proved both clumsy and provincial.

Mark Levin
TALLINN

Novonikolayevsk – the centre
of the Russian
state early in
the century.
The business centre of Russia
today is the

INTERNATIONAL ELECTROTECHNICAL

INTERNATIONAL ELECTROTECHNICAL COMMODITY STOCK EXCHANGE in NOVOSIBIRSK

(former Novonikolayevsk)

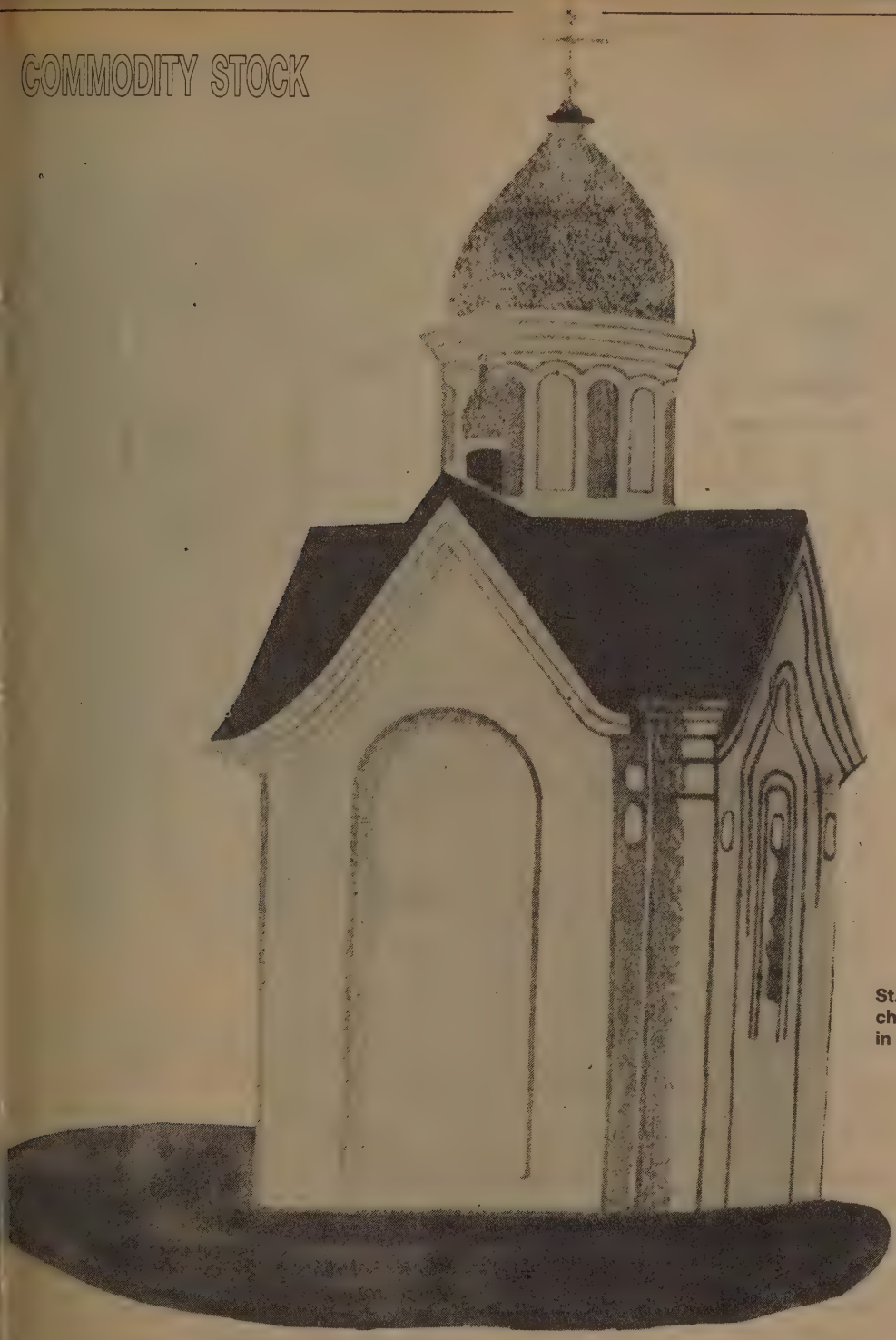
The country's first
power engineering exchange,
situated at the crossing of the
economic and trade routes
of RUSSIA, has the inexhaustible
scientific and industrial
potential of SIBERIA

Our address: Russia, 630004, Novosibirsk, Krasny Prospekt, 67-a
Tel.: (383-2) 21-99-57, 20-08-00. Fax: (383-2) 21-50-54.

OUR ENERGY –

COMMODITY STOCK

EXCHANGE



St. Nicholas
chapel
in Novonikolayevsk

YOUR INCOMES!

AVIS

Kurt Waldheim –

a history of one career

There was no threat of a trial for the President. But he condemned himself to solitary confinement. During long six years in the Hofburg Palace he suffers for his being conformist all his life

The Hofburg Palace in Vienna doesn't look like a prison. Yet its permanent resident feels as if enjailed. He has been awarded decorations by nearly all countries of the world. As the head of a state, he is rendered supreme honours; however, practically no one wants to have to do with him outside the Republic of Austria. The Austrian President is never invited anywhere. High guests of Vienna avoid contacts with him. He is denied entry to the United States where he has spent the best years of his life. The US Attorney General has entered his name into the list of those wanted for crime and to be arrested immediately.

The brilliant career of former United Nations Secretary-General, President of Austria Kurt Waldheim, is nearing its most deplorable end.

What is the reason? The former Secretary-General's personal weaknesses? Somebody's ill will? Or the tragic circumstances of a cruel age?

Peace-maker or a Nazi criminal?

When the second five-year term of Kurt Waldheim's office in the UN expired in 1981, the world's unique official returned home haloed by world-wide fame and still thirsty for active public life. The Austrians who felt as if they were provincials in Europe hoped that Waldheim could help them occupy a more significant place in the world community. The office of the Republic's President seemed to have been created especially for their famous compatriot.

Meanwhile, at the very peak of the presidential election campaign sensational revelations appeared in the Austrian leftist press – the professional peace-maker Waldheim was a Nazi war criminal who served in the Wehrmacht during World War II and took part in extermination of Yugoslav and Greek guerrilla fighters, deportations of non-combattants and in "the ultimate solution of Jewish question."

Waldheim's celebrated name added a global meaning to the scandal. It was found before long that soon after the war the Yugoslav government entered Waldheim's name in the list of war criminals to be tried. Jewish organizations also demanded an investigation, which, perhaps, was what saved Waldheim. Austrian "patriots" declared that

As the UN Secretary-General, Waldheim enjoyed homage paid to the world's Number One diplomat

Jews merely wanted to get even with the former UN Secretary-General who had participated in the adoption of the notorious resolution defining Zionism as a form of racism. Waldheim won the elections.

Nationally-minded Austrians were satisfied. Yet the new President failed to bring the country the much-desired success in international policy. President Waldheim continually denied his involvement with military crimes, calling the accusations put forward by his opponents "absurd and senseless." At this point the best Western historians preoccupied themselves with archival investigations.

Between cavalry and diplomacy

The would-be Secretary-General was born four days before Christmas in 1918 in a country which, though still called the Austro-Hungarian Empire, bore this name the last days. When Kurt's father returned home

Kurt Waldheim, Oberlieutenant of the Wehrmacht, did not think that these photographs remained

from World War I he found himself in an altogether new country – only German-speaking provinces were left of the old empire, its Slavonic peoples and Hungarians having become independent. In Austria-Hungary, which was a mess of nations, most of his life Kurt's father had borne a Czech surname, Watzlawik; it was decided to change it, because in the new Austria it was impossible to make a career with a Czech surname even in the unassuming capacity of a schoolmaster. The infant Kurt Watzlawik became Kurt Waldheim.

Kurt's younger brother became a schoolmaster like his father, and his sister became a physician. Kurt's father wanted his son to don a white robe too, but he refused: "Father, don't insist. I can't stand the sight of blood."

Kurt Waldheim always wanted to be a diplomat and moved towards his goal by overcoming difficulties. He studied well, making good progress in all subjects except mathematics. Kurt played the violin in the school orchestra.

In 1936 (at the age of 17) Waldheim volunteered to join the army. No militarist propensities, however, only a sensible view of things: Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg had promised to give preference in state service to those who had first served in the army.

Waldheim spent one year in the prestigious 1st Dragoon Regiment – a refuge of young aristocrats – and subsequently entered the Consular Academy in Vienna. He never complained of anything, always smiled, worked hard and was loved by everyone. The long-desired diplomatic office was in sight, but Waldheim was not lucky enough to take it – he could not become an Austrian diplomat those days, because Austria had ceased to exist.

Living under the Nazis

"Austria is not an independent state, but part of Germany." Hitler's point of view was shared by Austrian "patriots" – the Nazis. The Waldheim family, on the contrary, upheld Austrian independence. Waldheim senior, a fervent Catholic and the head of the municipal school department, declared that he would vote against the Anschluss at the plebiscite due to take place on March 13, 1938. Kurt Waldheim, as a devoted son, gave up his studies to stick leaflets around Vienna. This ended deplorably for him – he was beaten by a Nazi gang.

The plebiscite did not take place – on March 11 Hitlerite troops invaded Austria. It was a lesson for Kurt Waldheim: don't paste leaflets or hurry up to speak out on hot issues.

The new power viewed the Waldheim family as suspect. Waldheim senior was arrested by the Gestapo, but released right away. Then arrested again and again released. The storm troopers visited them on a number of occasions in search of "subversive literature." The neighbours turned away from them. Kurt's mother was greatly embarrassed: they were not Jews or communists, after all.

Kurt was deprived of a scholarship in the Consular Academy. He had to borrow money from relatives. His aunt supplied him with eggs and milk.

It was noted in Waldheim's military curriculm vitae now accessible for investigation that within a month's time after the Anschluss, Waldheim had been accepted to the National Socialist German Students League. Waldheim has denied his membership in the League. He has preferred to tell stories about the troubles his father had to face and his own anti-fascist views.

However, he was not at all accused of sharing the Nazi Weltanschauung. As a cool pragmaticist, he has, perhaps, always dissociated himself from any ideology. Everything he used to do served the one and the only goal – his career. A weak after the "Crystal Night" – the biggest Jewish pogrom – he joined the Sturmabteilung. He was not going to march along the streets singing the *Horst Wessel*. He simply understood that it was necessary for the success of his career in the Nazi Germany.

Shoulder straps and a doctoral degree

Having successfully graduated, Waldheim turned to the local party leader with the request to confirm his reliability. In August of 1940, the Gauleiter of the Danube party organization of the National Socialist Party of Germany signed a testimonial stating that Kurt Waldheim had proved his usefulness for the Reich by his service in the army and that there were no objections to his being engaged in practicing law.

The war with Russia disrupted all his plans. The Waldheim-led unit, as part of the 45th Infantry Division of the Army Group "Centre" attacked the Brest fortress. Lieutenant Waldheim's successful actions were marked with the Iron Cross, Second Class, and a medal. He participates in actions against guerrilla fighters and separate groups of Soviet soldiers who tried to break through eastward from encirclement.

After the Red Army began a counterattack near Moscow, good luck abandoned Waldheim. He was wounded by a shell fragment, which nearly resulted in amputation of his right leg; however, things turned out not that bad and Waldheim was first delivered to a military hospital in Minsk and later to Vienna.

After the war, Waldheim would say (and write in his memoirs) that his having been wounded at the Russian front had put an end to his military service and that he had been able at last to resume work on his doctoral thesis. It was a lie. The medical board found him fit for further service and in March of 1942 he was transferred to the headquarters of the 12th Army stationed in Belgrade. The chief enemy – the Yugoslav guerrilla fighters.

During the presidential campaign six year ago Waldheim's political opponents reminded him of his Nazi past

The years out

A period in Waldheim's life set in which he would avoid mentioning in all circumstances. After the disclosures of 1986, Waldheim admitted unwillingly that he had been in the occupation army in the Balkans, acting exclusively as an interpreter.

It was so indeed at first. He knew Italian and was attached as a liaison officer to the headquarters of Italian General Esposito. The general took a liking to the tall Austrian and often invited him to play cards.

His duty was to inform his commanding officers about everything that the Italians did. However, his dolce vita was over before long. In May of 1942 he was transferred to the headquarters of a task force which was ordered to suppress the guerrilla movement in the Kozara mountains in West Bosnia. The guerrilla fighters who found shelter there inflicted considerable losses to the army of Croatia, Germany's ally. The Supreme German Command and the Croatian government had reached the decision to depopulate the Kozara region – all captive guerrilla fighters were to be shot and the non-combattants sent to Germany for forced labour.

The battle lasted for several weeks. Germans exterminated several thousand people, others were deported. The action was supervised by the department in which Lieutenant Waldheim served. Together with other officers he decided the Bosnians' destiny – those physically fit were sent to Germany as slaves, the weak ones were handed over to Croatian police for extermination.

Waldheim was on the list of officers of distinction. Croatian leader Ante Pavelić, subsequently hanged, awarded him the Silver Medal of the Crown of King Zvonimir with Oak Leaves "for valour in the battles with insurgents."

Waldheim insists now that Croats gave out medals to all staff officers without distinction. However, only five persons out of the entire German division had been awarded such medals before him.

Profession: intelligence officer

On April 14, 1944, Oberlieutenant Waldheim defended his doctoral thesis in which he called Nazi Germany "the saviour of Europe." In the army he also climbed the scale of ranks successfully. He was transferred to the operation department of the headquarters of the Army Group "E" deployed in Greece. Oberlieutenant Waldheim, a careful and disciplined officer, keeps a diary of military operations and transmits orders from his superior officers to his subalterns. Now all orders and reports about deportation of Jews from Greece, reprisals against guerrilla fighters and mass deportations of civilians go through his hands.

In 1986, Austrian presidential nominee Kurt Waldheim would swear that he knew nothing about the mass extermination of Jews or the bloody suppression of the guerrilla movement. But historians would find Waldheim's reports in the archives of the Wehrmacht. He knew everything and, according to the circumstances, took part in all that he would like now to forget. He was a small but reliable screw in Hitler's destructive machine.

In the autumn of 1943 he was transferred to the intelligence department and soon after he was entrusted with preparing weekly reports for the superior command. Among other documents, he carefully examines interrogation protocols of POWs – one detail he would do his best to forget. On the 11th anniversary of Hitler's coming to power he received a new decoration – the War Merit Cross, Second Class, with Swords.

Everyone woke up being anti-Nazis

Waldheim surrendered to Americans in May of 1945 and in the middle of June he was already back home. The Allies recognised Austria as Hitler's first victim, so the Wehrmacht's former Oberlieutenant turned out to be a kind of victim too.

Five years before Waldheim turned to the leader of the local National Socialist Party organization for a testimonial. Now he wanted the same from eminent anti-fascists and reminded them about his father's summons to the Gestapo. Before long he received a number of letters confirming his anti-Nazi views.

Early in October, Waldheim already was in the reception-room of the new Austria's first Foreign Minister Karl Gruber, a child prodigy of 36, who needed young and energetic personnel.

A graduate of the Consular Academy and a Doctor of International Law speaking four foreign languages, Waldheim seemed to the minister the right person. Actually, Waldheim became an assistant to the Minister who valued the same qualities which had been appreciated by generals of the Wehrmacht. Waldheim could be relied upon, and the Minister's Office worked infallibly.

He had to undergo the procedure of "denazification," of course, but in Austria it soon became a mere formality. It was decided to punish only former bosses; the rank-and-file Nazi could count on forgiveness.

File No. SK 235 came to the Ministerial Commission on Denazification on March 28, 1946. Although the Minister urged the Commission which was busy with work beyound measure, the latter did not reach Waldheim's turn even in six months' time. He was ultimately notified to have passed denazification without consideration of his case. No one in Vienna was interested in the young employee of the diplomatic service. However, in Belgrade they were.

The Belgrade intrigue

Marshal Tito had his own grounds to square accounts with Austria. Primarily territorial

ones. He insisted that one of Austria's lands, Karinthia, must be handed over to Yugoslavia.

Tito saw that the Allies were not going to support his demands and decided to resort to emotional arguments. It was declared in Belgrade that the Austrian government, the Foreign Ministry and even the very delegation entrusted with conducting the talks about the post-war reshaping of the world were full of former Nazis. As a member of the delegation Kurt Waldheim was on this list.

The units in which Waldheim served ruthlessly killed Yugoslav partisans
Photo from Der Spiegel (Germany)

Belgrade decided to avail itself of the assistance of the UN War Crimes Commission. In fact, the Commission did not conduct independent investigations, it only gathered evidences and testimonies furnished by each of the victorious countries. Belgrade was aware that if Waldheim were entered into the list of war criminals, Austria's Foreign Ministry's entire foreign policy would be compromised.

The accusation was to be substantiated. Yugoslav inspectors found the right man.

A POW, Johann Meyer by name, who studied at the anti-fascist courses in the camp, readily told the inspectors that Waldheim was an "old Nazi" personally responsible for the shootings of hostages by Germans.

Based on Meyer's affidavits, Yugoslavia prepared a document demanding Waldheim's extradition. Belgrade did not intend to try him. It was enough to publish the document at the moment when Waldheim's boss, Foreign Minister Gruber, denied Yugoslavia's rights to Karinthia.

Happy redemption

Yet the Yugoslavs did not rouse a scandal around Waldheim. Why? Because Belgrade lost all interest in him the very moment he was appointed to the Austrian Embassy in Paris.

The note demanding his extradition to Yugoslavia was "lost." Before long they released Johann Meyer who was supposed to be used at the trial against Waldheim. The case was closed, and opportunities for a big career opened.

Surprising though it may seem, nobody has ever tried to find out what Kurt Waldheim was doing from 1939 till 1945 when all Germans served in the army. Neither in international reference books nor in biographies of the professional politician have the fishy episodes of his life ever been mentioned. Whenever asked, Waldheim has never denied that he served in the army: "Of course, I was drafted to the Wehrmacht, like everyone was. I was in cavalry at the Russian front where I was wounded." No one could blame on Waldheim the fate of his generation.

He was appointed the Ambassador to Canada in 1958, became the Permanent Representative of Austria in the UN in 1964 and the Foreign Minister in 1968. He was the conservative Austrian People's Party's nominee in the presidential elections of 1971. Waldheim was lucky enough to lose, to become the UN Secretary-General the same year. He spent ten years, i.e., two terms, in this post, and these were the best years in his life. He enjoyed the homage paid to the world's Number One diplomat; he derived pleasure from settling conflicts – an inclination which had manifested itself as early as his childhood.

Did anyone know about Waldheim's past? Certainly. In 1967, Yugoslavia bought microfilms of German military documents from the US and updated its Waldheim dossier. However, politics is more important than historical justice. Yugoslavia made its choice in favour of good relations with Austria. Tito personally awarded a Yugoslav order to Waldheim. It was his second award in that country; the first had been awarded to him by the leader of Croatian fascists, Ante Pavelić.

Waldheim decided that his career must be crowned with presidency. His political opponents from the Socialist Party of Austria, primarily Chancellor Fred Sinowatz, were resolved to endorse their own candidate. They recollected the rumours which had always circulated in the Vienna corridors of power.

Prisoner of the Presidential Palace

On May 4, 1986, nevertheless, 49.6 percent of Austrians voted for Waldheim, which brought him very little happiness. He spent five years in the Hofburg Palace as if in honorable exile, pleading innocent and wondering what do all these exposers want from him?

Historians who investigated the Austrian President's past, including first of all an American professor Robert Herzstein, have arrived at the conclusion that Kurt Waldheim was not an accomplice in what is usually called "war crimes," which does not mean he is absolutely innocent. He served in units of the German army which committed mass crimes against civilians. He is at least morally responsible.

We can agree with Waldheim's assertions that he had no choice except to fulfil his superiors' orders. Of course, he is no Eichmann or Mengele, he is a simple man who wanted to live quietly and make his career. But this is probably the most important lesson of the Third Reich: Eichmann or Mengele wouldn't have been able to destroy several million people without the cooperation of persons like Waldheim.

Waldheim was not threatened with a trial. He condenmed himself to a comfortable solitary confinement by having failed to find enough moral strength to face his past.

Leonid Mlechin

MEDICINE

Battery-operated heart – is it risky?

Oleg Vishnyakov

You are energetic, relatively young and your health does not seem to be in danger. But one day, on the way to your office, you suddenly feel strangely weak. Everything goes dark before your eyes, your legs feel stiff and you begin to pant. Several minutes later you recover. But soon such bouts resume, and sometimes you lose consciousness.

This can last for several years. A doctor you see now and then advises you not to overstrain yourself, and prescribes you drugs and recreation. At last, you go to a cardiologist who, after a careful examination, concludes that you have an uneven heart rhythm. Only a cardiostimulator can save you. Implanted in your body, it will generate impulses necessary for the normal beating of your heart. Without it your life is in danger.

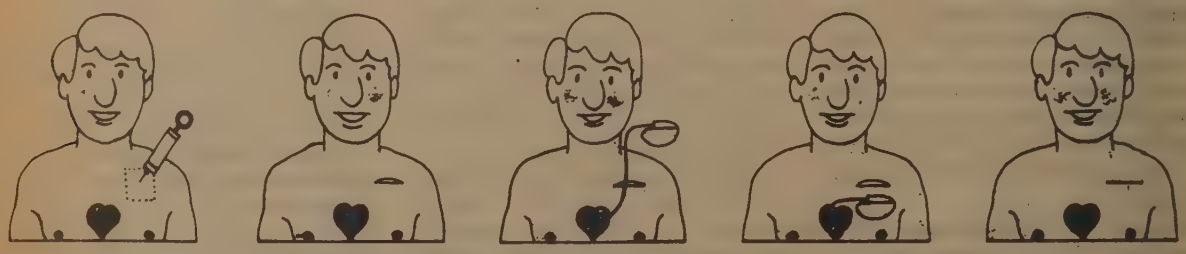
You panic because you do not know whether you will be able to return to normal life and continue work after the operation. You are told that millions of people the world over, and tens of thousands in our country, live well with implanted cardiostimulators and not one of them feels defective as a human being. The doctor backs up his argument with figures. According to the World Health Organization, half the people with an uneven heart rhythm die within five years. At the same time, the death rate among people with implanted electric cardiostimulators is not higher than that among healthy people in the same age group. In the end, you agree to an operation.

They can drink, smoke and have wild sex like all healthy people

If you have a slow pulse

It is a typical way that patients end up at the electrocardiostimulation centre of the Vishnevsky Institute of Surgery in Moscow. True, it happens that people with a pulse rate of five to ten beats a minute are delivered right from the street, and an operation has to be performed straight away. Every year about 1,000 operations are made in the Vishnevsky clinic – more than anywhere else not only in our country, but in the world too. However, Andrei Zhdanov, the 36-year-old head of the centre, thinks that even this is not enough. "In the United States, around 110,000 stimulators are implanted every year, and only 25,000 in our country. Unfortunately, this does not at all mean that our people are healthier," he says.

A study recently conducted by the American Association of Cardiologists shows that the countries of the former USSR and Eastern Europe are sadly leading in cardio-vascular diseases. The food people eat in these countries has a rather high content of cholesterol. They also drink much alcohol and experience great stresses. The evident imbalance in the number of implanted cardiostimulators is explained simply: far from all cases are diagnosed. "How can a neighbourhood doctor who did



A small incision of the skin, electrodes are implanted through veins with the aid of an X-ray unit, a device is then implanted in the muscular tissue, and stitches are put in. The operation is over. It takes about 40 minutes

"Electric arm" stretched out to the heart

Electrocardiology dates from 1780, when professor Luigi Galvani of Bologna University made public the results of his experiments on the effect of electric current on the muscular tissue.

In the early 19th century first attempts were made to study the effect of electric current on the heart of man. In France, the bodies of criminals put to death by a guillotine were used for such experiments: one electrode was connected to the heart muscle, the other to the skin on the back, and then electric current was transmitted.

In the mid-19th century articles about the effect of electric current on the hearts of animals appeared in medical journals. Scientists discussed in earnest the possibility of an electric stimulation of man's heart. The first method, proposed in 1872 – stimulation with the aid of skin electrodes – was called "an electric arm." However, many years passed before specialists dared to test something of the kind on man.

In 1929 the Australian doctor M. Lidwell devised and used the device for stimulation of the heart. Research was conducted on stillborns. In one of the cases, when usual methods did not produce results, stimulation of the heart enabled Lidwell to resuscitate a child. He remained alive. This case is considered the first clinical experiment in the use of cardiostimulation.

In 1932 the American doctor A. Hyman devised a special instrument for transmitting an electric pulse to the heart when it stops and called it an "artificial pacemaker."

At the time cardiostimulators were bulky and heavy (a patient was bedridden) and had many disadvantages. They could be used only for temporary stimulation of the heart. The need arose for creating portable devices which could operate for a long time independently.

The first heart stimulator was implanted in 1958 in Arne Larsson from Sweden. The device operated autonomously for about two weeks, and then it had to be charged from without.

In the Soviet Union, the first cardiostimulator was implanted by Academician Jurgis Bredikis, who now heads a clinic in Kaunas, Lithuania. Only the first-class surgeon could perform a similar operation at that time. The chest of a patient had to be cut, since electrodes were directly connected to the heart muscle. Today little surgical intervention is needed, and a stimulator can therefore be implanted by an ordinary cardiologist.

Modern cardiostimulators have a case produced from titanium. The organism, which rejects alien matter, makes an "exception" for this metal. A lithium battery, used as a power source, keeps a stimulator working for ten years.

Arne Larsson is the "owner" of the first electric cardiostimulator, a device manufactured by the *Siemens-Elema* company

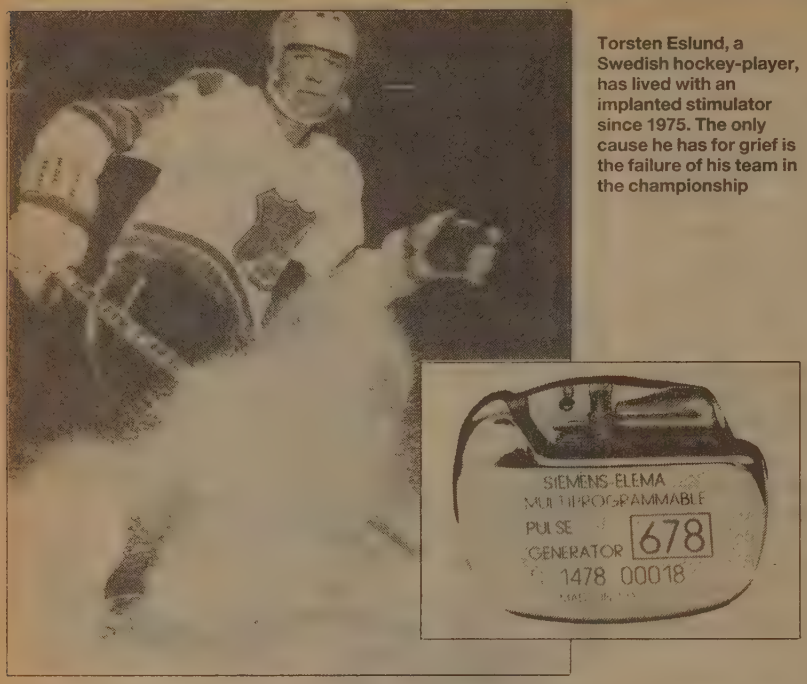
not study cardiostimulation in college give the right diagnosis for a person with an uneven heart beat?" Zhdanov comments.

The clinic run by Zhdanov can perform twice as many operations. There are enough specialists. However, "most people have not even heard about our existence," says Olga Kostyleva, a senior research associate of the clinic, "while many are simply afraid to come to us, for someone told them they would not live long 'with this thing inside.' So we have to explain and persuade all the time, and it takes a lot of energy."

Specialists of the Moscow centre try to refute one more widespread delusion, namely, that a person with an implanted cardiostimulator must not use household electronic appliances. He must not watch TV, listen to the radio, or use an electric iron or an electric-powered shaver. In fact, patients are merely not recommended to stay for a long time in a strong electromagnetic field, for instance, near an operating radar aerial, a microwave oven or under a high-voltage power transmission line. Even in this case the probability of the device going out of service is infinitely small. But should this happen it is no tragedy. The heart will continue to beat independently.

There are practically no contraindications for "people with batteries." Like all healthy people, they can have sex, drink spirits and smoke. As a rule, they resume their former activities and continue with success to engage in sports, scientific or creative work. "After the operation I seem to have been born anew," says Iosif Markov, a 72-year-old electrical engineer from Moscow, who agreed to the implanting of a new, two-chamber stimulator EKS–444. The device is now undergoing clinical tests. After an operation patients usually stay in the clinic for seven to eight days. But the doctors asked Markov to stay for several weeks for an examination.

Yelena Shubina, a 38-year-old employee of a research institute, suffered from a heart malady since childhood. For a long time she was under observation in clinics, but doctors gave varying diagnoses. Just as most other patients, she heard nothing about the cardiostimulator before. She learned about it by chance



Torsten Eslund, a Swedish hockey-player, has lived with an implanted stimulator since 1975. The only cause he has for grief is the failure of his team in the championship

and immediately agreed to an operation. Since then Yelena has felt well.

Two years after the operation Yelena married for the second time and gave birth to a child. "At the maternity consultation centre they forbade me to give birth to a child because they did not want to take the responsibility upon themselves," she says. "I tried to persuade them, but it was of no use. I had to sign a promise that I shall make no complaint if anything happens." Yelena already has a second stimulator. The first safely worked for eight years and was replaced with a new one. Some patients of doctor Zhdanov now live with a seventh or even eighth stimulator.

Thanks to the Communust Party

One anecdote of the pre-*perestroika* time runs like this: "Why did Brezhnev, being general secretary, go abroad and Chernenko did not? Because Brezhnev operated off batteries and Chernenko off the central electrical generator." Indeed, electric cardiostimulators implanted in Brezhnev and some other Soviet leaders enabled them to live somewhat longer than was destined by nature. However, by the irony of fate, Soviet medicine made great progress in cardiostimulation thanks to Chernenko, who suffered from many other diseases but somehow managed without a stimulator.

Early in 1985 the seriously ill Chernenko read a letter from science fiction writer Kazantsev, who more than once drew the general secretary's attention to the grievous situation in the sphere of cardiostimulation in the Soviet Union. Having read the letter, he wrote on top of it: "Consider at a Politburo meeting, instruct the Council of Ministers to work out a plan."

March 7, 1985, when the question of electric cardiostimulation was examined at a Politburo meeting, could be called a historic day. It was the beginning of the "golden age" in this branch of medicine. At last, the necessary funds were allocated. Modern stimulators were developed at one of the design offices of the military-industrial complex and cardiostimulation centres set up at the Vishnevsky Institute of Surgery in Moscow and the First Medical Institute in Leningrad.

This breakthrough enabled the Soviet Union considerably to narrow the lag behind the West, believed to be about 20 years in the early 1980s. Today the modern Soviet-made stimulator EKS–500, operating in the "demand" regime (it starts operating only when the pulse slackens) and allowing the remote programming of seven parametres, measures up to the standards achieved by the West only eight years ago.

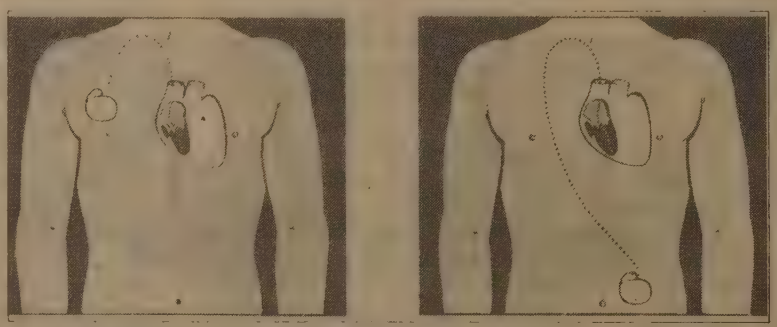
It is impossible to overtake the West

"All modern stimulators produced by major Western companies are fitted with a dialogue system which helps both to influence the device and get information from it," Andrei Zhdanov says. "In addition, sensor cardiostimulators are used more and more widely in the West. Our EKS–500 stimulator generates a constant pulse frequency set by a doctor, say 60 beats a minute, irrespective of what a patient does – whether he sleeps, walks or runs. However, the pulse of a healthy person changes depending on his physical activity. Sensor devices are intended to avoid this disadvantage. They correct the pulse by reacting to the intensity of physical work, the frequency of breathing or the temperature of blood."

In our country one of the first sensor cardiostimulators – manufactured by the American company *Medtronic* – has been implanted in Academician Nikolai Amosov, the founder of the Institute of Cardio-Vascular Surgery in Kiev.

The Commonwealth of Independent States does not have its own sensor stimulators. Western stimulators cost each from 2,500 to 4,000 dollars. Experts told me that the only way out is to take a licence for the manufacture of these devices and to use the Western technology. This is what China did some time ago. A licence to make sensor cardiostimulators will cost roughly ten million dollars – cheaper than if a country invents its own devices of this kind.

In the clinic headed by doctor Zhdanov home-made stimulators are implated free of charge. It is a different matter if a patient wants to have a more perfect, American or German, device. In this case he will pay the cost in hard currency. Till now funds for the purchase of car-



Places where stimulators are implanted most often

diostimulators from manufacturers – the Izhevsk engineering works and Klimovsk plant, producing pressed articles – have been allocated by the Ministry of Public Health. The staff of the clinic think, however, that the financing can stop at any moment. That is why they have established a small enterprise prepared in this case to give a diagnosis and treatment for money. Till January 2 the manufacturing cost of one cardiostimulator EKS–500 was about 1,000 rubles.

Even though the Moscow cardiostimulation centre took steps to insure against possible pitfalls in the future, the present continues to arouse serious apprehensions. The service life of the X-ray unit, with the help of which all operations are performed, ran out long ago, and it often gets out of order now. Several months ago the Public Health Ministry of the Russian Federation bought ten X–ray units abroad (at the price of 100,000 dollars each) and distributed them among provincial clinics where at best 50 to 100 operations are performed a year.

"The work of our clinic can stop at any moment," doctor Zhdanov says. "And it is not only the largest institution of its kind but the only one which can operate under emergency care conditions. Five to six patients are sometimes brought to us during a week in a state of clinical death. Just imagine that the X-ray unit fails at the time of an operation."

Most people who have never heard about cardiostimulators usually think that "battery-operated" life is the lot of old men and women and persons disabled since childhood. It is not so. A man of any age or occupation can be subjected to a heart ailment. We daily meet people with implanted cardiostimulators in the street, shops and the underground, but they do not attract our eyes because outwardly they are not distinguished from others. It is only on the beach that you can notice a horizontal scar on the body of your neighbour, usually on the left side of the chest. Don't feel shy to ask him about it – a man with an implanted stimulator is not at all an invalid.

Household electric appliances cannot affect the operating of a cardiostimulator. The drawing taken from an advertisement of the *Siemens* company clearly shows what a person with an implanted stimulator need not fear

Our clients were right:

AGROPROMIZDAT – AEROFLOT – AKADEMKNIGA – AKVAELEKTRONIKA – ALEKTA – ALITALIA – ALL MOSCOW – ALTERNATIVA – ALYANS – ARGO – AROS – ASSISTANCE FUND – ASKO – ASTROVAZ – AVKOM – AURIS – AZRIKANA – BAYARD – BELANA – BIKO – BIO-PREPARAT – BROK-PRIZ – BUSINESS-TOUR – BUSINESS REVUE – BUSINESS ELECTRONICS – BUTO-KATALOG – CANON – CLINICS OF TRADITIONAL MEDICINE – COLINS – COMA – CONTINGENT – CEASAR-TECHNICA – CERUTTI – DATA-PRODUCTS – DEA – DEKOS – BUSINESS WORLD – BUSINESS PROMOTION UNION – CHUDO-ABITURIENT – EGLE – EKOINFORM – EKONOMKNIGA – EKSPOKNIGA – EXPOCENTRE – ELEKTRONIKA – ENERGOSERVIS – ESPERO – FAMILY – FIAT – FINVEST – FIZIKA – GENTLEMAN-91 – GENEALOGY BUREAU OF THE INSTITUTE FOR HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS – GOMO – GARANT – GOSTELEKANAL – GOVORUN – GURASH – GOLUBEV – GOLDEN AGE – GOLDEN AGE MISSION – FAR EASTERN AVIATION COMPANY – HELP – INKOROS – INTEROKO – INTEREKS – INTURSERVIS – INFORMIKA – INTERQUADRO – IDEAL – IOTA – I.Ch.E. – ICGI – INTERNATIONAL LIFE – INTERNATIONAL BOOK FAIR – IZOTOP – JUSTICEINFORM – KAMI – KAMCHATKA – KAZACHOK – KOLUMB – LAO – LUCHIK – LUXE – MAGNUS – MANILA – MARS – MASHPRIBORINTORG – MSB – MASTERS' ADVICE – MENATEP META – METTEM – MICO – MIKRODIN – MMM – MOSAICS – MOSKOVIA – MOSCOW BIOTECHNICAL EXCHANGE – MOSKVORECHIE – MOSCOW PROJECT MANAGEMENT – MOSCOW YERMOLOVA THEATRE – ITALO-SOVIET CHAMBER OF COMMERCE – NAUKA – NEMCHINOVKA – NOVOSTI-McKEN – NOVOSIBIRSK INTERNATIONAL ELECTROTECHNICAL COMMODITY AND STOCK EXCHANGE – LINIA-GRAFIC – OBERON – OMSK COMMERCIAL COMPANY – ORGTRUD – OSTINFORMATIK – PATENTS AND LICENCES – PARAGRAF – PERMAVIA – PESCATORE – PIRAMIDA – PRAGMA – PRAKTIKA – PRIMA – PRIRODA – PROGRESS – PROFIZDAT – QUARK – RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR SANITATION EQUIPMENT – REZONANS – RECTOR – REOLOG – RIA-TUR – ROSE OF WINDS – ROSSIYSKAYA YARMARKA – RUSSKY DIZEL – RUSSIAN LANGUAGE – RUSSIAN EXCHANGE BANK – SALYUT – SANA – SARGIS – SVETOREKLAMA – SIKOM – SIEMENS – SYNTHESIS – SYRIUS – SOVIET JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW – SOCIUM – STEEPLER – STARKINS – STET – STROIREMONT – SURGUT RAW MATERIAL EXCHANGE – TAJIMA – TAIMA – TASS – TEKHMASHEKSPORT – TOR – TONUS – TRIANGLE – TRIBUNA – TRIO – TRUD – TsIPT – UKRAINA – UNISEPT – USKORENIE – TOP SECRET – VASM – VOLOKNOR – VOSTOK – VOSTOK Ltd – VREMYA – ZVEZDNY

They chose NEW TIMES to place their advertisements

The advertising and marketing agency HOBOE BPEMЯ DESIGN
Our address: Pushkinskaya Square, K-6, Moscow, GSP, 103782
Tel.: 209-92-82, 209-76-52, 209-95-71
Telex: 411164a NEWT SU
411164b NEWT SU
Fax: 200-42-23 and 200-41-92

© НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ DESIGN

Everything has turned out quite upside-down

Secessionism and nationalism from Quebec to Karabakh

Ilya Gerol,
Canadian political scientist

It's only quite recently that enthusiastic detachments of philosophers used to eagerly storm heights never before subjugated to mental scrutiny. They subjugated these heights and only after jumping for joy, naturally, fell down crushing themselves to death against the rocky plateau called common sense.

However, Marxist philosophy was the last to recognize its death and, correspondingly, the existence of this plateau. In addition to common sense, it categorically denied such superstitutions as religion which turned out to be merely the opium of masses, nationalism which was nothing more than a cheap attempt by the compradore bourgeoisie to consolidate its power over the poor foolish working masses of the same ethnic origin, while aspirations of small, smaller and smallest ethnic groups for independent existence were explained as a consequence of a conspiracy by imperialist, reactionary, at times even Zionist and masonic forces aimed at enslaving nationalities which are small in number.

A lonely wolf is more successful...

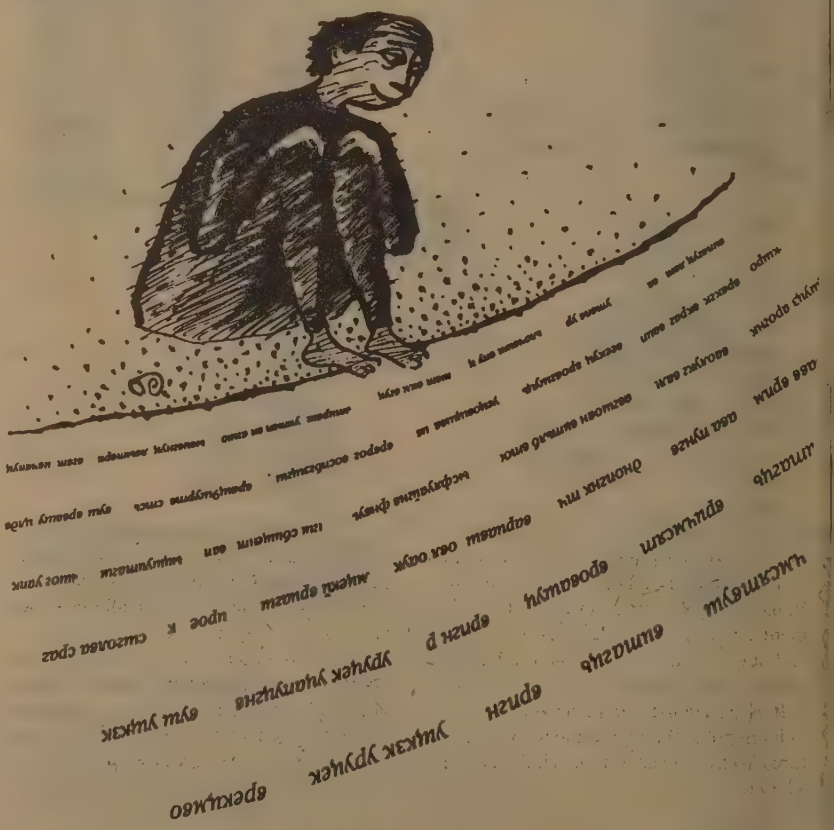
As my uncle Borya who had all his life worked at a mill in a small Lithuanian town, used to say, "everything has turned out quite upside-down." Very late in the enlightened 20th century, when it is possible to read from a satellite a newspaper lying on the ground or transfer a skilfully encoded command from one computer to another by way of accomplishing an act of industrial espionage, it turned out that a country-side clergyman with a worn-out *Bible* under his arm, and a fervent moollah with his acute political interpretation of the sonorous koranic surahs, and a Buddist lama who had for fifty years concealed himself from the special task forces of the Buryat KGB department for religions, and an avaricious down South Evangelian who suppressed his abnormal sexual thirst by means of reading aloud the Gospels, had succesfully subjugated those same heights on which philosophers used to crowd a very short time before.

And it turns out as well, that all those small and minute nationalities have neither disappeared nor been assimilated at all. The Gagauzes, with their Turkish descent and Christian faith, see no harm in their becoming an absolutely sovereign, though small, republic. The inhabitants of Northern Somalia who belong to the Isaaq tribe have decided that the dream of a Greater Somalia is too much for them because their Big Brother who settled in the capital city of Magadisho has been bombing them for five years running and denied the very existence of their tribe.

"We are only two and a half million people," told me Ali Mohamed, one of the leaders of the Somali National Movement, the organization struggling for secession of Northern Somalia and its conversion to the state of Somaliland. "This is only one fourth of the Greater Somalia, but it is our own fourth. Thirty years ago we not only agreed to unite with the South to form a unitary state, despite the difference of languages and the fact that we were by far more advanced socially and industrially, but in addition we did our best to be assimilated into one family, so to speak. We were answered with envy, discrimination, hatred and eventually genocide."

A wave or, more precisely, a devastating tsunami of national emotions, uncompromising secessionism and fierce xenophobia taking on the colours of clerical fundamentalism is overflowing one continent after another, without regards for borders.

In highly civilized Canada this tide does not pull down buildings or threaten to cause famine as it does on the vast territory of the



Drawing by Victor Kazachek

former USSR, in Somalia or Ethiopia, nor does it stir the people up into hostilities, as in Yugoslavia; however, it evokes the same illusions and hopes that more can be achieved separately than together.

The end of great experiments

It is easiest of all to cover oneself with the veil of intellectual snobbery and to pity by way of condescention the "riotous populace" – all those fanatics rushing after their leaders, secessionists trying to cure social plagues with fences separating nations, and nationalists who successfully convince their compatriots that their genes will provide for a better future.

It is much more difficult to understand their truth – impractical, often hopeless, at times crazy, and yet a certain truth.

This truth is rooted in the fact that the great experiments of the 20th century – the rise and fall of empires; communism with its joyously idiotic idea of forcing people into their own happiness, fascism with its brutal and cinical logic of bestowing happiness on a few million fair-haired ones at the expense of those who happened to be born dark-haired or burred slightly; Maoism, the ideas of Chuchae, Jamahiriya and other kind of delirium of a smaller caliber – have proved to be not mere failures but world tragedies of an unprecedented scale. Having failed to eliminate poverty, they made it still more humiliating and terrible by contrast with others' affluence.

They have failed to overcome inequality. The country of educated slaves which has existed for 70 years under the name of the USSR and has gone down in history under its true name of the GULAG Archipelago can tell the world much about the dangers of experimenting on people.

The replete, free and highly organized Canada has failed to solve the problems of Quebec and the Red Indians. With that difference, of course, that in Canada the satisfaction of the demand to grant Quebec a special status, recognizing the French roots of its culture and psychic constitution, is today the aim of not only Quebec, but of the entire Canadian society and, correspondingly, it will become a basis for a nation-wide compromise. The demand of the Red Indians to grant them ethnic self-government and to create their own administration and legal structures is supported by the majority of Canadians.

It is noteworthy that, according to the opinion polls, the suggestion to use military force in case of declaration of independence by Quebec was rejected by 92 percent of Canadians. Consequently, the problem is the same as in Yugoslavia, Ethiopia and the former USSR, but the path to its solution is a civilized and democratic one.

"We love you more than ourselves..."

The same roots can be traced in the fierce outbursts of nationalism throughtout the world – historical inequality, social oppression, domination by large groups over small ones, and negation, real or otherwise, of the right of small national and ethnic groups to independently determine their destiny.

There are no simple solutions here. The right of the Latvians to live in an independent Latvia seems axiomatic, as well as the right of the Gagauzes to create their own republic. In today's world which has become small, interdependent and economically interrelated, the right of one part of the population to suppress the other is denied by the world community.

Territorial integrity of any state is the corner-stone of the world order. In the meantime, the killings of the Kurds in the northern part of Iraq is not only condemned by the world community, it induces the democratic opponets of Iraq to use force in order to protect the Kurds.

There is equally no doubt about the population of Nagorny Karabakh, mostly Armenians, being deprived of the right to have contact with the Armenian Republic in cultural, economic and political domains. However, for all the sympathy of the world community for the hard and dramatic history of the Armenian people, Nagorny Karabakh is, nevertheless, part of the Azerbaijan state. The fact that two and a half million Jews live on the territory of the state of New York does not mean that Israel has the right to annex this state. There are no legal or international facts to substantiate the claims of Armenia to Nagorny Karabakh.

The national issue is extremely complicated, as well as the path to its settlement, if it exists at all, and equally delicate must be the approach to the demands made by small nationalities and to their over-sensitive and often incomplete picture of their own history.

My friend Kate Spicer, one of the leading intellectuals in Canada, determined once the principles to be observed by a large nationality with regards to a small one which happened to be unfortunate enough to share a common territory with its Big Brother: "The big ones must tell the smaller ones, and say it many times, not fearing to be unduly repeatative, that we love you more than ourselves. And we are ready to do for you more than we are prepared to do now for ourselves. Then everything will be all right."

This recommendation is easier formulated than followed.

Who has drunk all the milk?

It's not infrequently that one may hear in the long Moscow lines for terribly expensive meat and the absent milk: "We Russians have fed the entire country, and now all those Uzbeks, Azerbaijanis and Tatars think only about themselves looking for something to grab, to fleece, for a way to use us, when we're down."

It is difficult to expect manifestations of over-flowing love for one's neighbour in a situation when a Russian worker's monthly salary is barely enough to buy two kilos of sausages and is equal to one third of one hour's pay of an average American. And the dirty lies pouring out of the mouths of the *Pamyat* patriots and their half-educated, tongue-tied leaders about the responsibility of the Jews for the absense of milk or of southern peoples for the shortage of apartments in Moscow, is easily believed by a person exhausted by the searches for food for his children, clothing for his wife and a free minute for himself in order to take a breath in some nook resembling an apartment. He must be understood and forgiven?

No, it is not necessary to forgive. It is necessary to take urgent measures in order to stop the stream of national and ethnic strife fed by starvation and hatred.

The most surprising phenomenon today is that the Russian intelligentsia is least of all preoccupied with resisting this onslaught.

Bondarev, Kozhinov, Shafarevich, Rasputin and Belov do not mark time. They are engaged in genetic calculations and complicated mathematical explications proving that the Jews control all and everything. They no longer see the wall of intellectual contemption which used to stop them so recently.

In the meantime only the intelligentsia is capable of explaining to a Russian, a Ukrainian and a Kazakh suffocating in the loop of lines that neither the Russians, nor the Jews nor the Americans nor the Germans are to blame for the hard life in the former Soviet Union. And that everything will be OK one day if only the search for "scape-goats" will be replaced by the understanding that personal initiative, enterpreneurship and mutual understanding will bring the country back to the family of civilized nations.

Ethnic conflicts, outbursts of separatism and the pain of inequality will not, of course, disappear; however, in a civilized society these problems can be solved. ■

"I alone know who the fifth one was"

Yuri Modin, a KGB colonel, on the best Soviet secret agents

A former assistant chief of the KGB station in London interviewed by *New Times* correspondents

– For how long have you been with the intelligence service?

– Forty-five years. In 1940, I joined the Navy and entered the Leningrad Higher School of Naval Engineers. Then the war broke out. After a spell in a besieged Leningrad, all the cadets, myself included, were transferred to the infantry by Stalin's order. On my way to Stalingrad, the NKVD recruited me. They had found out that I knew some English, put me through an advanced English course, and enrolled me in the intelligence service.

– What was your last post in the intelligence service?

– Deputy chief of the Intelligence Research Institute.

– Has the Anglo-Saxon world been the sphere of your activities throughout those forty-five years?

– I have specialized in English-speaking countries, let's put it this way, with Britain proper holding my undivided attention for twenty-odd years.

– Did you have a formal front in London?

– I spent ten years in Britain altogether, staying there from 1947 to 1953 and from 1955 to 1958. Worked at the Embassy and went all the way from an attaché to First Secretary.

– Did you leave Britain upon fulfilling your assignment, or did the British authorities hurry you to go?

– The British had no complaints to make about me, but later my name came to light. Someone testified against me.

– Who was that?

– It's hard to tell. I know for certain that Anthony Blunt, who had been suspected of being involved with the Soviet intelligence service since 1951, first disclosed my name in 1964. I think, however, that the British counterintelligence service had found me out much earlier, but who exactly its source was...

– Whom of the five leading Soviet secret agents in the British Isles did you work with?

– Personally, I worked with four of them, mostly with Anthony Blunt and Guy Burgess. As to Philby, I saw much less of him – during my stay in London, he was away in Turkey and then in the USA.

– Did Soviet secret agents work with Philby in Washington then?

– That I don't know. Philby was expected by all to become the chief of the British intelligence service in time, therefore we tried to avoid, as far as possible, personal contacts with him – he had to remain above suspicion. He got his assignments through Burgess, a friend of his since college years. I did not deal with Donald Maclean. We knew about each other, but never met.

Kim Philby, Donald Maclean, Guy Burgess, Anthony Blunt... In Moscow these men are revered as outstanding secret agents. In London, they are branded as traitors, homosexuals and alcoholics

– So those men did not make up a single spy ring, did they?

– No, each of them practically worked on his own.

– How often did you meet with your agents?

– Only as often as absolutely necessary, but not oftener than once a month. There was an arrangement, of course, whereby I could contact them in emergency.

– Was intelligence information passed on as rarely as that?

– It all depended. After the war, when the victorious powers' Council of Foreign Ministers met now in London, now in Paris, now in Moscow, we needed a continuous influx of information and, occasionally, met with our agents as often as twice a day. Some-

Why Molotov got angry with our magazine

Guy Burgess

Donald Maclean

The *New Times* magazine was the first Soviet periodical to mention the names of Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess who had fled to Moscow in 195 Its issue No. 40, 1953, carried an anonymous artic under the title *Another Case of Misinformation and Sla der*, which castigated the "cold warriors" and the lyir capitalist press for claiming that Burgess and Maclea were in Moscow, and that Melinda, Donald Maclean wife, had followed him.

The report, *New Times* wrote, "caused merry anim tion in our editorial office where Maclean and Burges are known only from the sensation-mongering Weste press."

London presumed that the Soviet leadership ha started another propaganda game – and was mistake The article on Burgess and Maclean was printed on th editors' own initiative. Our journalists had made a pra tice of giving the West a rebuff, but overdid it that tim Within a day of the issue's coming out, an infuriated Vy cheslav Molotov phoned the editor-in-chief. "Who ha authorized you to make such a statement?" he inquirec

It was only in 1956 that Moscow officially admitte having granted asylum to Burgess and Maclean, but d nied their cooperation with the Soviet intelligence se vice for a long time yet.

Guy Burgess, who had received a Soviet passport the name of Jim Andreyevich Eliot, applied to the KG for permission to go back to Britain, but got non Donald Donaldovich Maclean had settled down he and worked at the Institute of World Economics and I ternational Relations under the USSR Academy of Sc ences until the day he died.

times Molotov read our partners' secret materials before the heads of their delegations did. Under ordinary circumstances, however, monthly rendezvous were quite sufficient.

– Does that mean that your agents' assignments were so big they took a long time to carry out?

– It does. But you should bear in mind that the "five" were top-class politicians. They knew well enough, without our instructions, what was of topical interest and what wasn't, which foreign policy problem needed extra light shedded on it, and which didn't. So my interference could have only muddled things up sometimes. Once the centre requested information about a certain problem having to do with British-American relations. I asked Burgess to try and get this piece of information. He promised to do that but noted that the matter in question was extremely involved, had caused enormous correspondence, and offered to give me the gist of it in writing. I made the stupid mistake of declining his offer and insisting on him bringing all the original documents relevant to the case. Burgess did that. But neither myself nor the centre could make head or tail of it, and finally had to ask Burgess to explain what it all meant.

– How were a heap of secret documents smuggled out of the British Foreign Office so easily? Did they have any security arrangements at all?

– In Britain, they have trust in their civil servants and, I am sure, rightly so. The "five" who worked for us were a historical fortuity. And trust earns efficiency.

– Many books have been written about Philby, Burgess, Maclean, Blunt. And still there is no answer to the main question: why did they agree to cooperate with the Soviet intelligence service?

– What they volunteered to do was not cooperate with an intelligence service, but take part in the secret war against fascism within the framework of one of the Comintern's organizations. They regarded Russia as the outpost of the world revolution.

– Were they really Communsits?

– Yes, they were, even though not in the sense habitual to us. They came from aristocratic families and did not break with their class. However, their college instructors were known for their Marxist views. Marxism was even fashionable in their time. Burgess had made no secret of his membership in the Communsit Party and that he studied Marx. He knew the history of the Soviet Communist Party extremely well. Blunt never paraded his views; incidentally, it was his line of research, the history of art, that led him to Marxism.

– How's that?

– He thought that in our time art was dying for want of rich patrons like those of the Renaissance epoch. In his opinion, market relations were deadly to art, which only subsidies by the socialist state could save. Maclean had arrived at communism through an intricate combination of strong compassion for the miserable lot of Scottish workers, nationalism and his personal bent for preaching and charity work.

– What about Philby?

– In college, Philby was a left-wing Socialist. His university professor put him in touch with French Communists. Upon learning that Philby had been the treasurer of the Socialist society at Cambridge, they made him the treasurer of the International Workers Relief organization and sent him to Austria. In 1934, during a workers' uprising in Vienna, he saw with his own eyes what fascism was. The scenes he had witnessed then made an indelible impression on him.

– Was he the first to start working for the Soviet intelligence service?

– Yes. Our men in Vienna took a good look at him and decided he was to be relied on.

– His recruiting officer did not even imagine what a fortunate choice he had made then. Incidentally, was the "five" recruited by one person or by several persons independent of one another?

– This is a very difficult question. There was no recruiting officer. There were different people including friends who gradually dotted the i's and crossed the t's. Some people take credit for having recruited the "five," but these claims hold no water. One thing is certain: an important role was played in this matter by such Soviet secret agents as Theodore Maly, a Hungarian, and Arnold Deutsch, an Austrian Jew, as well as their college mates and friends.

– Did they work underground? What was their fate?

– Maly worked both underground and in the open. In 1937 he was recalled to Moscow. He knew what he was in for and did actually face a firing squad. Deutsch did efficient underground work until the outbreak of World War II. In 1942 he was sent to America on a secret mission. He sailed on board the *Donbass* steamship which was sunk by a German U-boat en route. The survivors said that after the ship had taken a direct hit, a mast fell, breaking Deutsch's legs. He could not possibly escape. Curi-

Espionage for the fun of it

Philby and Eleanor in Moscow

Harold (Kim) Philby was a born spy whose name has gone down in the history of the secret services. He joined the British secret service in 1939 and showed tremendous promise from the start. Unlike many of his colleagues, he was not homosexual and concealed his communist views. He undoubtedly enjoyed cheating the world's leading intelligence service and cherished the praise the KGB lavished on him. He reached the acme of his career in 1945 as the head of the department working against the Soviet Union.

He first got into serious trouble when Konstantin Volkov, a Soviet secret agent in Turkey, met with the British Consul and asked for political asylum, promising to disclose the names of three high-placed Soviet agents two of whom worked in the British Foreign Office, and the third, in the intelligence service. A ciphered message from Istanbul reached Philby who reported its contents to his Moscow contact. The KGB took Volkov to Moscow right away.

Loyal to its subjects, the British government insisted that Philby was not guilty, even after Burgess anbd Maclean had fled to Moscow. He was allowed to leave for Lebanon, from which he fled to Moscow in 1962. He was given a hearty welcome here, created a colonel, and decorated. His third wife, Eleanor, who had followed him to Moscow, confessed in her memoires that Philby drank a lot and "stole the wife of Donald Maclean who was impotent."

ously, there is a monument near Vienna, Austria, allegedly commemorating Arnold Deutsch who was shot by the Gestapo for espionage in 1942.

– Let us now go back to the "five" recruited by Maly or Deutsch. They ought to have realized, sooner or later, that they worked for a foreign country's intelligence service which was, well, not very patriotic of them.

– They helped Russia before the war because they believed that our country was the only bulwark against fascism. After the war had started, they simply deemed it their duty to help us, all the more so since they saw that the USA and Britain were not too particular about fulfilling their allied commitments. May I repeat that they did not so much work for Russia as fought against fascism. They were by no means enthusiastic over what was going on in the Soviet Union, specifically they regarded our foreign policy as no good at all. By the way, they never handed over to us any materials which might do Britain any harm. The information we received from them had to do with foreign policy matters, on the whole.

– Still, Philby gave his agents away, didn't he?

– According to him, he had given away hundreds of agents smuggled into the Soviet Union, Albania and the People's Democracies by the British and Americans for purposes which were anything but charitable. When reproached for having caused so many deaths, Philby would reply: "A la guerre comme à la guerre." What else could he say? There was no denying those facts. People died on both sides.

– Did the number of those agents really run into the hundreds?

– They were sent in on a massive scale, indeed. After the war, the Americans and British infiltrated their spies into the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus, Armenia, wherever could find at least some kind of support.

– The British authors who wrote about the "five" made them appear in a bad light, alleging that they were alcoholics, and homosexuals. How did those men strike you personally?

– I admired Philby. He was a rather peculiar person, but we all loved him. Philby could analyze any problem unerringly and find the only correct solution for it. That explained his rapid climb up the intelligence service hierarchy: he was equal to any assignment. The rest always turned to him in extreme situations. I think Philby made not a single mistake in his lifetime. He was actually caught in a trap but managed to escape scot-free.

– Why did those agents fail, nevertheless?

– The Americans succeeded in deciphering one of the Soviet intelligence service's telegrams, and an analysis of its contents helped them to establish, a few years later, the identity of a Soviet secret agent. I mean Donald Maclean. By virtue of his official position Philby learned about this and sent Burgess to London to tip off Maclean and us.

– Was that why Maclean found himself in the Soviet Union?

– The nervous strain of years of underground work had a toll on Maclean. He had just undergone treatment for alcoholism, and was appointed head of the Foreign Office's American Department. Knowing his anti-Americanism, Washington objected to this appointment. London, however, was favourably disposed towards Donald – the son of a Baldwin cabinet minister, he was "one of the boys." In Britain, that always made all the difference. However, Maclean warned Burgess at once that if arrested, he would talk because he hadn't the nerve to withstand interrogations. Therefore, Maclean had to get out of there, but not on his own. On his way out, he was to stop over in Paris, which he had all sorts of romantic associations with. It was there that he had embarked on his diplomatic career and got married. He was sure to go on a drinking bout in Paris, and that spelled trouble. So we had Burgess accompany him.

– And Philby became the sacrifice.

– Of course, we lost a unique chance of installing our agent as the chief of the British intelligence service, but there was no other way out.

– What about Blunt?

– I warned him that he might fall under suspicion, too, and suggested, on the centre's instructions, that he should flee. Blunt refused to comply saying that he had strong nerves. At first, nobody bothered him. But after it had become clear that Burgess not merely disappeared but fled together with Maclean, they started questioning Blunt, and kept doing so until 1963, for twelve years, but he never talked. It was only after Burgess had died and nothing could harm him any longer that Blunt confessed to being a Soviet secret agent.

– What did he disclose, exactly?

– We have no verbatim reports, but we know for certain that what he told his interrogators was by no means the whole story, and that he didn't give anyone away.

– Did you keep in touch with any of those who had fled to Moscow?

– I did, with Philby who got more or less acclimatized here. Our intelligence service often sought his expert advice, and our young officers benefitted much from him.

– How did puritanical Moscow take Burgess' homosexual inclinations?

– He was told that we had a stringent law against homosexuality which was to be obeyed. Nevertheless, he managed somehow.

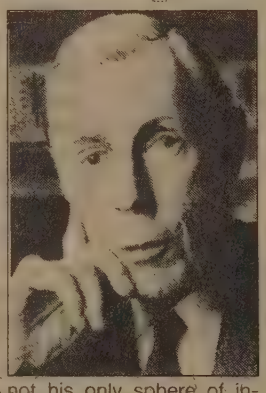
– He didn't last long in Moscow.

– Burgess, an intellectual of the first order, could live only in London, and nowhere else. Every night, at about seven he got an irresistible urge to go "pub hopping." No, Moscow was not for him. Burgess had been a live wire and a mischief. In London, I bought him a car in order to facilitate our contacts. On one occasion he

Her Majesty's art critic

"It gave me intense enjoyment to report to the Russians the name of every British counterintelligence officer." This phrase belongs to Anthony Blunt, a prominent British art critic. In 1940, he joined the British counterintelligence service and was, at one time, a liaison officer at the headquarters of the joint allied forces. In 1945, he fulfilled the royal family's special mission in defeated Germany and was then appointed the custodian of the royal gallery.

Anthony Blunt was an elegant, charming and highly educated man, fluent in five languages. Art was



not his only sphere of interest: the first degree he received at Cambridge was in mathematics.

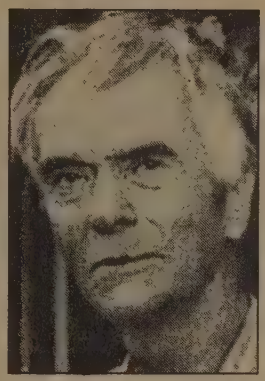
In 1956 Blunt, a suspected Soviet spy by then, was knighted nevertheless. In 1964 he gave himself up on condition that he wouldn't be punished. The government did not have enough evidence to condemn him and promised Blunt to keep his confession secret and not to interfere with his art studies.

Blunt attained the peak of his career as an art critic and wished neither to flee to Moscow nor to be locked up in jail.

In 1979, Margaret Thatcher was forced to admit that the government knew Blunt was a spy. He was stripped of knighthood.

My mystery remains

"If I am believed to be the fifth, well, so be it," John Cairncross, 78, told newsmen. A Scot of a working class background, he managed to enter Cambridge where he made no secret of his communist views. He worked in the Treasury, and in the war years, in the decoding centre. In 1939, Polish agents brought to London the code ciphering machine, Enigma, then used by the Wehrmacht. For five years and a half, British cipher officers read the Reich's topsecret documents. Churchill, however, forbade to share the information thus obtained with the Allies lest the Germans should suspect a leak.



Cairncross fell under suspicion in 1951 when some papers from the Treasury were found in Burgess' abandoned flat. Cairncross admitted that he had passed some information to Burgess, but the in formation was not classified. Allowed to leave Britain, Cairncross settled in the south of France. Cairncross always said that he had been recruited by James Klugmann, a British Communist Party activist.

The British counterintelligence service has tried for years to find out who "the fifth one" was. Cairncross has probably been named in order to calm the British public down. He might actually have been on the list of the most valued agents, and it is stupid to deny this because Oleg Gordievsky mentioned his name after defecting to the West. For all we know now, however, the "fifth" might have never existed.

gave me a ride at a speed which discouraged me from ever getting into his car again. While in Ireland on leave, he fatally ran someone over, and got away with it. He had friends everywhere, kicked all the doors open, and no one could bear a grudge against him for too long. On another occasion, he spent his leave in Gibraltar in the company of his old cronies – British intelligence and counterintelligence agents. Both proved to be pro-American, and he picked a fight with them. They lodged a complaint against him. In London, friends hushed up the incident.

– Did you ever give him a good scolding?

– No, I didn't have to do that because I found the right approach to him. When we first met, I said to him: "Guy, I am a young man, and I have a lot to learn yet, so could you, an experienced secret agent, help me with this job?" I could see that my words turned him on. I set great store by making friends with my agents.

– Did your superiors value all these men?

– They did, all of them. They got their name, "the five," during the war. The centre had heaps of intelligence information but no one to process it. Our people worked far into the night, until 3 a.m. or so, but they couldn't cope all the same. Then our chiefs decided to single out five best agents and give priority to their dispatches. Information which arrived from other sources often remained unlooked at.

– What was so special about the information provided by "the five"?

– Shortly before, during and after the war, the Soviet leadership knew practically everything about the Western powers' intentions and plans in the foreign policy sphere and about their secret services' actions against the Soviet Union. Do you know who saved us during the Battle of Kursk? The agent who sent in information, intercepted by the British who had cracked German codes. It was from him that we learned how many divisions the Germans had there, and how thick the armour of the new German tank, the Tiger, was. The information had come three months or so before the battle began. Hadn't we received it, we would have lost the Kursk Battle which decided the outcome of the war. Just one piece of information like that justifies all the secret service expenses.

– Was that agent one of "the five?"

– Yes. He was the fifth agent whose name I cannot disclose as yet.

– Was it John Cairncross who, in the war years, worked in the British Radio Message Interception and Deciphering Centre? Late last year he admitted to being the fifth.

– How does he know? The fifth agent's name is known only to me and a few colleagues of mine.

Interviewers:
Leonid Mlechin,
Tatiana Chernova

CLASSIFIED

● *PALESTRA–49 – Athletic–Club–Co–Enterprise offers splendid service for hard currency.*

You can enjoy the benefits of the training complex, solarium (sun treatments), baths (water massage), sport health improvement massage, Finnish sauna, Roman-Irish steam bath, bar (hot snacks, drinks of every kind, music, TV).

The address of PALESTRA–49 in Moscow: Luzhniki, covered skating rink KRISTALL; tel. 201-14-73.

PALESTRA–49 will make you healthy.

● *TRAKTIR ARKADIA offers splendid dishes of the Russian, Armenian and European cuisines made by excellent cooks. Only in Arkadia you can taste chalagach (delicious pork roasted on a spit), kyufta a la Sevan (stewed veal), and a wide choice of top-quality Armenian cognacs.*

Tel. 926-90-08

You are welcome to our Arkadia. Its address is: Moscow, Okhotny ryad, 4 "A".

● *The SLIDE enterprise*
– offers a wide range of slides on different themes, including landscapes 9x12 and 13x18;
– produces lay-outs of books, booklets, posters, etc.;
– fulfils orders for making advertising and artistic photographs, colour separation and reprinting.

Telephone in Moscow 120-01-55, phone on Monday, Wednesday and Friday between 11 a.m. and 16 p.m.

● *The firm Grad-Zh sells AT 286 and 386 computers, FC–2 xeroxes, videos, faxes and thermo-paper, and will take credit of five to to ten million rubles.*

Telephone in Moscow (095)947-10-53

To place your express-information in the CLASSIFIED column, please contact the Новое Время Design agency:
103782, GSP, Moscow, K-6
Pushkinskaya Ploshchad
Tel.: 209-92-82, 209-76-52, 209-95-71
Telefax: 200-42-23, 200-41-92.

© НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ DESIGN

Via exhibitions and fairs to trade and cooperation – this is Expocentr's motto. We enjoy a 30-year experience in exhibiting. International exhibitions and fairs are an effective tool of your products and developments promotion and marketing as well as direct contacts with your potential partners.

We invite foreign and Soviet enterprises and organizations to take part in the international exhibitions in Russia.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS IN 1992

FARMBIOPROM – "Chemical, Pharmaceutical and Microbiological Production Equipment"
Moscow, March 11-18

OPTIKA – 5th "Optics"
Moscow, April 9-16

NEFTEGAZ – 4th "Equipment for the Oil and Gas Industry"
Moscow, May 19-27

2nd BANK & OFFICE
Moscow, June 18-25

ALUMINIY – 3rd "Production and Use of Aluminium and Aluminium Prefabricates"
Moscow, June 18-25

SPORT – 7th "Sports Gear and Manufacturing Equipment"
Moscow, June 18-25

METEOROLOGIYA – "Hydrometeorological Instruments and Systems"
Moscow, June 19-26

TEPLITSA – 4th "Equipment and Mechanization Means for Greenhouses"
Moscow, June 19-26

MALAYA SELKHOZMEKHANIZATSIYA – 2nd "Minimachines for Agriculture"
Moscow, June 19-26

BYTMASH – "Municipal and Household Facilities"
Yaroslavl, July 9-16

ELECTRO – 5th "Electrotechnical Equipment and Power Transmission Lines"
Moscow, July 21-29

FOOD PROCESSING – "Equipment for Trade and Catering"
Riga, July 28 – August 6

KHIMIYA – 7th "Chemistry"
Moscow, September 15-23

KERAMIKA – "Equipment for Manufacturing Ceramics"
Tashkent, October 20-27

INFORMATIKA – 3rd "Computers and Information Science"
Moscow, October 21-28

REKLAMA – 2nd "Equipment for Publicity Materials Making"
Moscow, October 21-28

AVTOINDUSTRIYA – 2nd "Autoindustry"
Moscow, November 24 – December 2

MEBEL – 3rd "Furniture"
Moscow, November 24 – December 2

2nd MEBELINDUSTRIYA
Moscow, November 24 – December 2

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS IN 1993

CONSUMEXPO – 5th "Consumer Goods"
Moscow, January 15-22

METROLOGIYA – 3rd "Standards, Measuring Facilities and Precision Instruments"
Moscow, February 11-18

PODSHIPNIKI – 4th "Equipment for the Bearing Industry"
Moscow, February 11-18

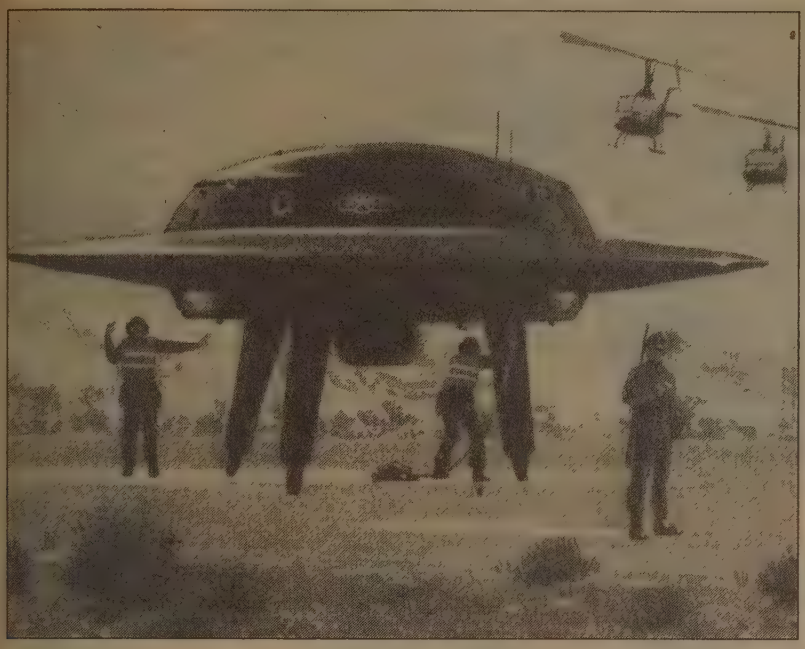
5th INDUSTRIAL ROBOTS
Moscow, February 16-23

TURINDUSTRIYA – 3rd "Tourism Industry"
Moscow, March 18-25

KOMPOZIT – 2nd "Production Technology and Application of New Materials and Composites"
Moscow, March 19-26

MEMBRANE TECHNOLOGY
Moscow, March 19-26

Your contact address: Expocentr 1a, Sokolnichesky val.
Moscow, 107113, Russian Federation
Telex: 411185 EXPO SU Fax: 007/95 288 95 37
Telephone: 268-17-96, 268-50-80, 268-13-40



Rendezvouz with extraterrestrials

Humanity is in for an encounter with representatives of extraterrestrial civilizations some time soon, believes Johannes von Buttlar, German student of UFO phenomena

Dr Buttlar who grew up in an old German baron family received me in his study room at his ancient castle of Bartenstein. As an author of 18 books translated into 30 languages, with over 25 million copies published, he is among the world's most widely-read writers. Moreover, Johannes von Buttlar is also a scientist.

New Times. You are an astrophysicist and your hobby is the study of UFO phenomena, a strange combination, don't you think?

Johannes von Buttlar. Hold back your scepticism. Really, treating lightly the most complex issues and processes evolving in the Universe is equally detrimental for humankind's progress as people's refusal to acknowledge ignorance. Of course, sensation and mystery have always attracted hords of incompetent as well as dishonest people aspiring for fame as well as material profit. Such "experts" have brought a lot of far-fetched nonsense into the science of the study of abnormal natural phenomena. Charlatanism is thriving. In addition, some reports about encounters with UFOs are warped to the point of absurdity and give seed to mystical claims. The US Department of Defence has been fuelling this mysticism surrounding the UFO issue, supporting such gibberish since the 1940s, as a red herring designed to distract the public's attention from serious and consequential studies in this field, thus contributing to the distortion of the actual picture.

N.T. When did you take on the problem?

J.B. It was in Melbourne. I was 16 when I had an uncommon experience one hot and sunny noon: a "saucer" made a dive quite near to me, out of the blue, literally. It measured about 60 cm across. It sailed past me and soared back into the sky, as quickly as it came down, until it vanished from view. I didn't dream it. That experience touched off my interest in the issue. I was lucky to see a UFO on two later occasions as well. Again in Australia, I observed, for 7 minutes, a strange flying machine in the form of a giant disk, looking like a washer that a screw goes into, of silvery metal. It was hanging in the blue sky and it was possible to get a good view of it: the "washer" had a bulge on top with something like windows in a row around it. The "windows" were lighted from within. Eventually the lights went out, and the "washer" was off.

The next meeting happened in the vicinity of Manchester, England. My wife and I were riding in a car, when we spotted a "saucer" hanging in midair, not high above the ground. I stopped the car, and the two of us were pondering in the sight of the huge silvery "washer" for 10 minutes. I clearly saw the thing and windows on it.

In short, it was my own experience of encountering UFOs that marked the starting point of my subsequent research into the issue which I never gave up despite numerous cases of falsification of facts, including doctored photographs, which I came across later.

N.T. Did you ever come up with any material proof of a UFO's reality?

J.B. I have had an opportunity to systematically receive information about UFOs, which is beyond the reach of most other people. Much of that information tallies with my own personal experience.

The first thing that surprises an investigator is the impressive capabilities of the flying machines, by far surpassing those achievable by contemporary terrestrial technologies. Such accounts uneringly point to the existence of UFOs.

After three decades, during which I have been collecting and analyzing vast amounts of information about UFOs, I believe that there is at least one big mother spaceship somewhere in the Solar System, from which individual "saucers" with a crew of 3 or 4 take off on reconnaissance missions earthwards.

People on Earth spotted a mother ship already on several different occasions. One incident involved a Boeing–747 bound to Japan. Soon after its take-off in Ireland, ground control and military radars "saw" a giant UFO. The 747's pilot radioed a message telling the ground control that he was actually seeing an extraterrestrial spaceship the size of a naval aircraft carrier. The radars confirmed the

report. Probably that was the mother ship.

Objects like that are quite rare to encounter, while smaller "saucers" are common. At least 3 of such were grounded (either through their own technical failure or human interference). There is proof that our planet Earth is under constant surveillance by humanoids who are 130-140 cm in height and far more intelligent than us. As far as I can tell, humanoids are in constant contact with earthlings.

This photo is the cause of fierce controversy: is it really a dead "stranger from the cosmos"?

NT. Could you expand on the subject?

J.B. Perhaps the most informative was an incident which took place May 7, 1989. NASA's satellite-tracking stations spotted a UFO the passage of which they monitored until the UFO was beyond their range of electronic vision over South Africa. On the same day, South African airforce pilots chased a UFO and eventually gunned it down using an electronic-magnetic cannon. The UFO hit the earth near the RSA-Botswana border. Two extraterrestrial survivors of the crash are still kept at a USAF base in the RSA. The two "scouts" originate from a twin-star system of Zetta Reticuli, 40 light years away.

A still from a movie about extraterrestrials.

In the meantime, US scientists are engineering aircraft operating on the same principles employed by UFOs. In words of American scientist, Robert Lazar, he saw such US-built craft tested over a dry-salt lake in Nevada, when he was in Los Alamos working on a secret project. Extraterrestrials assisted in designing the craft. Sure enough, US officials refuse to acknowledge the ET's involvement.

US astronauts who visited the Moon also managed to photograph UFOs there.

In fact, scientists in many countries around the world are working to solve the UFO puzzle, and this work is being done under conditions of strict secrecy.

NT. How would you describe the disposition of our "guests" from outer space?

J.B. They are wrongly believed to be aggressive towards inhabitants of the Earth. However, humans have been known to suffer from attempts to establish close contact with a UFO. For example, in a 1948 tragedy, a US airplane chased after a "saucer" and got dangerously close to it. As a result, it disintegrated, apparently because of an impact with a powerful magnetic field. There were some other cases of UFO-related disappearances of aircraft. Nevertheless, such facts don't prove the ET's aggressiveness at all.

Recent years have brought frequent cases of brief disappearances of humans. As a rule, they reappear but are unable to recollect anything about the incident. Scientists have learned that these people had been kidnapped by ETs for medical research and study (they often have scars from surgical interference on them when they return).

An analysis of available data allows a supposition that the tragic accidents simply result from the reaction of ETs to earthlings' aggressive actions.

NT. But when will we have "official" contact with the ETs, do you think?

J.B. US scientist Herman Kahn believes it will happen in the year 2000. I don't want to give a concrete date, but this will happen within the next decade, I believe.

Boris Lysenko,
our own correspondent
BERLIN

Photo from Buttlar's Adam Planet

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

New Times has already dwelt on Revolt Pimenov and his fate on more than one occasion, and carried excerpts from his works. It was those publications, perhaps, that marked the transition of the human rights activist Pimenov from "dissidence" to the "new policy" of the post-communist era, the policy which has disclosed its full potential since April 1985. This potential, limited at first, was gradually broadened, thanks to the efforts made by people like Andrei Sakharov, Revolt Pimenov, Sergei Kovalyov and many others who had started working for a law-governed state at the time when totalitarianism reigned supreme. This cost some of them a spell in Siberia. Revolt Pimenov also went through jails and concentration camps. A man with a first name like his, born in Novocherkassk (the scene of a popular uprising in 1962) and raised in Magadan, he was simply destined to become a dissident. The young man took his first protest action in 1949 when he tried to withdraw from the Komsomol. They locked him up in a lunatic asylum... In the fifties he was put behind bars, and in the seventies, exiled... After 1985, he got actively involved in politics, setting up political clubs together with his friends and becoming a member of the Russian parliament. In 1990, almost exactly a year after the death of Andrei Sakharov, Revolt Pimenov passed away, leaving a rich scientific heritage, now in the possession of the Pimenov Foundation (telephone: 213-09-55).

As part of the effort to make this heritage public, we follow with excerpts from Revolt Pimenov's four-volume work, *The Origins of the Modern Regime in Russia*, which scans the period of 1855 to 1985. Unfortunately, this work was never completed: Pimenov had not gotten to the end of the last volume. He started working on it in the fifties. The *samizdat* underground publishers brought out the first two editions of the *"short course"* in the political history of Russia in the seventies. Notably, the author's non-orthodoxy sometimes borders on sloppiness in his assessment and interpretation of events, and some of his ideas are in need of specification. For instance, what he means by "slavophilism" is actually the official imperial "populism and Russian Orthodoxy" rather than the well-known circle of Moscow philosophers. Nevertheless, this work is certainly worth the reader's. Judge for yourself.

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

The origins of xenophobia

Revolt Pimenov (1931–1990)

Over a century since the reign of Mother-Catherine, Russia has annexed vast territories and large nations. There are no good maps to illustrate this statement with, but recall that Poland used to be a vast independent state which bordered on Russia along the Dnieper river. That the entire northern shore of the Black Sea used to belong to an independent state called the Crimean Khanate which was under the supreme authority of the Ottoman Porte. That our poet glorified the empress for having annexed "Kirghiz and Kaisak hordes," that is Bashkiria to Russia. That the Hapsburg Empire (not to be confused with Austria) agreed on settling neutral Protestants, originally from Holland and German principalities, in northern Tavria, on the Volga river banks and in the Kuban with a view to stopping Russia's expansion towards Turkey and keeping the territorial balance between the Russia Empire and the Ottoman Porte (Turkey, the Balkans, Algeria and Palestine). Roughly, the line of demarcation between the "old" and "new" lands is that between Vienna and Saratov–Samara. It was there, at the junction of different ethnoses, that passions ran the highest. Let us now take a look at the new lands and the problems they have brought along with them.

Poland. Ethnic pattern: Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Jews. Religions: Catholicism, Russian Orthodoxy, Uniatism, Judaism. All this conglomerate lived relatively peacefully although far from ideally in a situation where religious communities and cities, and such settlements as Sech, enjoyed relative self-government. In 1773, however, Poland suffered a catastrophe, the consequences of which Europe has not overcome yet: it ceased to exist as a state, being divided into three parts which were incorporated into the Russian, Austrian and Prussian Empires. The important thing for us is that at the turn of the 19th century Russia came to include representatives of all ethnic and religious groups.

Poles have long been anti-Russian – the Russians deprived them of their homeland. Their homeland had once been the splendid Rzecz Pospolita. The Poles were anti-Russian en masse, in general. Various clashes ("uprisings," as Russian historians called them, and "wars," to use the Polish historians' terminology) landed many Poles in exile where they married Russian women and where they, more often than not, raised their children in the spirit of hatred for tsarism. The Poles maintained close contacts with Herzen and Bakunin. The official tsarist press and its heralds Katkov, followed by Pobedonostsev and Dostoyevsky, blamed the Poles for any revolutionary outbreak ("those Polish trouble-makers"). As a matter of fact, the Russian revolutionary movement was free of Polish influence since the mid-1860s. There were some individual Poles, of course. In her memoires, Vera Figner describes the impression made by the case of a Pole who was involved in the 1863 uprising. Such cases were few and far between. There were even occasional Poles among the statesmen of the Russian Empire. The fact remains that the Poles did not want to take part in the *Russian* revolutionary movement. They were unwilling to take part in building up of the new Russian state. All they wanted was for Poland to regain its independence and its former borders, and to hell with Russia. Towards the end of the 19th century, the Poles formed two basic political parties: *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna* (the Polish Socialist Party, PPS) and

Narodowa Demokracja (an analogue of Russian CDP) which dealt with their anti-Russian and anti-German problems. The PPS emphasized *independence* and the revival of Poland. Socialism was for it just a fashionable means towards the end. Later, Pilsudski notably departed from the ideas of socialism.

What Poland brought along to Russia were Jews, in particular. As distinct from Poles, Jews did not seek state independence, they were prepared to, and did, take part in Russia's life. Those Jews who, like most Poles, sought independence and were, therefore, indifferent to Russia's improved political and social system, usually joined the Zionist movement which had emerged in 1870 and which called for migration to Palestine. Zionists took practically no part in the Russian (revolutionary, opposition or conservative) movement.

Nicholas I began to show concern for saving Jewish souls, for which purpose he set up military cantons for orphaned Jewish children... No restrictions were imposed on baptized Jews. As regards the army, Nicholas I was most democratic – a private was free to go all the way to general... Nicholas had to arbitrate in disputes between Jews, on the one hand, and Byelorussians and Ukrainians, on the other, i.e. to passify a tension of long standing.

The expansion of Russian borders always posed the problem of how to incorporate the populations of the annexed lands into the empire

Alexander III introduced the "Jewish Pale," which actually coincided with the former border with Poland. The Jews had to keep within the Pale's limits, except those who had college diplomas or had done special services to the state. At the same time, certain members of the People's Freedom Party suggested that people should be set against the "exploiting Jews," and confront the tsar when the latter stepped in to defend the Jews. The Executive Committee imposed a ban on those ravings, but in 1900-1904 Vinnichenko and Petlyura (a writer and a schoolteacher) set up the world's first socialist anti-Semitic party on this basis... Anti-Semitism in the Ukraine was common (the author means the spread of "grassroots" anti-Semitism. – **Ed.**). In Russia proper (Petersburg, Moscow, Nizhni Novgorod) there were no Jewish pogroms. Neither was there any notable anti-Jewish feeling... Nevertheless, Jews came into contact and rivalry with Russian merchants. The latter lost, on the whole, because the Jews had the traditions of *European* and *world* trade on their side. They had the "bridge" to Germany! This whole Jewish population was part of the so-called "Rhine culture." They had traditional contacts of long standing with Turkey – the Mediterranean – too. Tensions grew and gained in scale. All the more so since the trend towards assimilation was strong, and even predominant, among the Jews. The Jews wanted to become Russians culturally. They renounced the faith of their fathers en masse... Jewish men were well educated... At the same time they were permeated, through and through, with the spirit of the Old Testament, which is socialist and anti-monarchist. In the Pentecost you will not find a word in praise of kings...

May I remaind the reader that the Russian revolutionary movement descended from the Russian nobility, or Russian Orthodox seminarians, and that before the eighteen-seventies no Jews were notably active in it. Their involvement in the revolutionary movement became quite marked after their rights had been restricted: the Jews bore all the responsibilities imposed on the citizens of Russia while not possessing all the rights the subjects of the Russian crown enjoyed. Such inequality is always fraught with social conflicts. From the eighteen-nineties, the proportion of Jews among the revolutionaries grew to about three per ten. This certainly made an imprint on the revolutionary movement as such: its programmes came to include national autonomy or national equality (which had not been in the order of the day in the times of Chernyshevsky or Zhelyabov). On the other hand, this gave the reactionaries grounds for reiterating that the entire revolutionary movement had been *started* by Jews and financed by them. In the public mind, xenophobia shifted from Germans to Jews. As a result, misunderstanding between the conflicting sides – government bureaucracy and public forces – grew, and the last chances for reaching understanding and achieving a compromise disappeared; there remained only a violent solution to the problem wholly in favour of one side. We should bear it in mind, however, that *not all* the Jews were revolutionaries. Some went into civil service. Upon converting to Christianity, Gringmut, for instance, even became chairman of the Moscow branch of the Russian People's Union, i.e. a leader of an arch-reactionary, antirevolutionary "patriotic" force...

Finally, Russia had problems with the Ukrainians, who profess either Russian Orthodoxy or Uniatism. They had been oppressed under Poland, but after the Ukraine had been taken over by the Russian tsars they rebelled against them. In the 17th-18th centuries they contributed markedly to Muscovites' education and enlightenment. It would be ethnically and territorially wrong to regard them as direct ancestors of modern Ukrainians – the south of what is now the Ukraine did not belong to them. Conquered by Russian troops (under German command, mostly) in the 18th century, it was known as Novorossia then. Those territories were populated with serfs brought in from central Russia by force. Self-awareness and the traditional way of life have a greater role to play in forming nations than any ethnic and geographical factors. The northern Russian way of life readily gave way to the local southern one. Shevchenko played an important role in creating the Ukrainians' self-awareness. The great and wretched poet imparted a pronouncedly anti-Moscow character to that self-awareness. He did not spare the Poles and the Jews, either, but the Russians he hated the most. It was Russia that imposed serfdom on the Ukraine at the end of the 18th century, which was reason enough for the enslaved poet's personal hatred towards Russia, and for the public at large to bear it ill-will. As a philological phenomenon, the Ukrainian language was created by poets and writers like Shevchenko and Dragomanov; the examples of Gogol and Kvitko-Osnovyanenko vividly illustrate the delicate process of its formation. In the Ukraine where the attitude of Catholic landowners to their Russian Orthodox serfs was coloured with the true believers' contempt for schismatic heretics, there had never been patriarchal relations between the landed gentry and their peasants; mutual hatred predominated. The nobles owned enormous estates there, with the peasants' share of the land being much smaller than that of the big landowners (as distinct from the situation in Russia proper). This, plus mutual hatred often led to such forms of social dialogues as whippings and arsons...

Under Catherine II, the Caucasus did not belong to Russia. It was formally annexed to Russia only in 1864. At the end of the 19th century, the memories of that event were still fresh, and Shamil's children were still alive. The war in the Caucasus lasted for very

long. Tolstoy knew only too well that there were peaceful mountain dwelling peoples and non-peaceful ones, and the latter had to be shot at on sight. Yermolov waged an ecological war in the Caucasus: he could not cope with the "non-peaceful" mountain dwellers – the guerillas with their hit-and-run tactics. Therefore, he ordered all the woods to be chopped down so as to deprive the natives of their natural shelter. Trees were felled, tens of small (but very ancient) ethnic communities were exterminated, and landslides began in the mountains. But the passage from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis became safe. Georgians and Armenians were grateful to Russia for saving them from Turks and Persians. Because Turks and Persians stood no comparison with Paul I, for all his despotism, or Nicholas I, for all his brutalities. (In 1797, for example, Persians seized Tiflis and, during their short stay there, cut every Georgian woman's leg sinews: limp, you infidel, let your children and your grandchildren see what comes from defying Islam.) Under the circumstances, the presence of a rather small army protected the "natives" rather than annoyed them. The taxes they had to pay were more reasonable than the tributes Persians and Turks had laid on them, and partly returned to Tiflis in the shape of the magnificent Vorontsov palace, for example. However, Georgia resented its total loss of self-government, and as early as in 1830 a conspiracy was launched to reinstate the Georgian crown prince on his hereditary throne. The Georgian king who surrendered Georgia to Russia possessed only Kartli and Kakhetia. The other parts of Georgia, such as Imeretia, Mingrelia, Guria, Abkhazia, Svanetia, Samitskhe, Khevsuria and, later, Adzharia were annexed not all at once, but one by one. The people there also bear an old grudge against Russia. As more and more Russians arrived in the Caucasus, the relations between them and the local population became strained...

In Russia, the Jewish problem assumed an absurd magnitude which was out of all proportion to its real bearing on national interests

In the case of Armenians the situation wasn't much different. The tsar had a serious quarrel with them after he had decided to requisite the jewelry of the Armenian church in 1904. Turkish Moslems, that is the inhabitants of what is now Azerbaijan and the Northern Caucasus, proved more difficult to deal with. The Moslems, however, butchered Armenians and engaged in internecine religious strife, so the Russians gradually subdued them all using the "divide-and-rule" policy...

Until 1850-70s, the Crimea (including Northern Tavria) was actually autonomous because Islam's control over everyday life is as all-embracing as Judaism's, and the Russian government had to reckon with the autonomous Moslem community... Crimean Tartars didn't take part in Russia's affairs, but the Karaims and, to a still greater extent, the Greeks did. The Greeks were found not only in the Crimea but all over the Black Sea coast. Greek women from Taganrog were active in the Narodniki movement. There is a structural similarity among the Jews, Georgians, Karaims and Greeks – each of these ethnoses had no other homeland and, upon finding themselves in Russia as the latter expanded, they took it as *their* home, but tried to change the conditions there...

The unprecedented rapid expansion of Russia made it face a difficult question, how to incorporate the population of the annexed territories. Had those been sparsely populated territories like those in Siberia or in Red Indians' America, the problem would have lent itself to an easy solution: the new settlers from Vologda and Suzdal would have simply brought their traditional way of life along, possibly adapting it to a different climate. However, the territories were full with settled communities, comprising peasants, artisans, traders and industrial workers. As Witte put it, since we cannot drown all the Jews in the Black Sea, we must give them all the rights enjoyed by Russian Orthodox believers. His bold ideas, however, found no response either in the government, or in official ideology.

In the age of locomotives it made no sense to call for the restoration of the customs of pre-Peter I Russia, and new technology was not merely a Western influence but an inevitable response to the fast population growth and to the need for military competitiveness. Foreigners were not the *decisive* force in the socio-political trends of those times nor in the circumstances which formed then. They constituted a *new force,* however, and it was necessary to develop an *attitude* to that "new piece on the chessboard," no matter how small an importance it had. At that juncture, political thought made a turn rather aptly described by the epithet "reactionary."

First of all, non-Russians began to be regarded as alien and hostile forces. Perfectly natural actions came to be interpreted as "graft," "conspiracy," foreign influence. Such inadequate thinking detracts from the possibility of a social dialogue and hinders understanding. Therefore, it is resented by all the more cultured and better educated people. The writers who wouldn't have sided with the Jews if the latter hadn't been unduly victimized, now find themselves obliged, owing to the force of circumstances, to stand up for them. The Jewish question has grown out of all proportion to the tasks facing Russia and to the proportion of the Jews in its population.

Such was the situation on the home front. In the sphere of foreign policy, things were much worse. Finding no adequate answer to a *real* problem, "Slavophiles" turn to an *invented* problem – that of the unity of all the Slavs in Europe... Such a foreign policy upset the traditional balance of powers in Europe. After all, the absence of prolonged wars in Europe after the overthrow of Napoleon was due to the alliance of Russia, Austria and Prussia, which was something like the United Nations. When "Slavophilic" gazes and Russian bayonets turned towards the Balkans, as part of the drive to "free our Slav brothers," Montenegrins and Serbians, Austria and Prussia began to worry. That was their traditional sphere of influence. Tsarist diplomacy's "trans-Balkan policy" resulted in the dissolution of the German-Russian alliance and in the formation of the Russian-French alliance. Things come to a curious pass – in Kronstadt, French guests were honoured with revolutionary la Marseillaise, France's national anthem, and the high-ranking hosts had to salute the seditious song the performance of which carried a prison sentence in Russia. In the end, those new alliances led to a world war...

The revolutionaries began to see their country in a different light. *The History of the Civil War,* published in 1935, opens (following the inevitable portraits) with V.Ross' cartoon of a huge octopus with its head in Petersburg, its body filling the whole of Russia, and its tentacles reaching out beyond its borders, to Scandinavia, the Balkans, Persia, with the leading European powers shamefacedly looking the other way. Such a view of tsarist territorial expansion was an axiom for Marxism at one time...

In works by Marx and Engels one can find painstaking estimates of the rate (in hundreds of kilometres) at which Russia expanded every fifty years. It is hard to imagine Russian revolutionaries – Marxists even – reading those angry anti-Russian articles by Marx in British papers. But it would be a mistake to think that *all* or *most* Russian revolutionaries were obsessed with the same ideas and feelings. It is safe to claim that Burtsev, Karpovich, Savinkov and, in fact, almost the entire party of Socialist Revolutionaries sought, patriotically, to *transform their country.* In Marxism, such ideas were branded, after Mikhail Pokrovsky's death in 1932, as "historiographic mistakes of the Pokrovsky school." Before that, the "Pokrovsky school" had dominated in Russian historiography...

Yuri Bondarev, chairman of the Union of Writers of the Russian Federation, is again the centre of attention for the press, radio and television. A group of "Russian writers" led by him met in the yard of the old mansion of the former Soviet Writers' Union where a monument to Leo Tolstoy stands. Shouting "Down with Jews and their hangers-on," they burned a dummy of the famous poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, whom they hate. Then they burst into the building, insulting everyone whom they met on the way and others whom they hate.

One of Chekhov's characters was glad when he was run over by a cart because the newspapers wrote about him the next day. Perhaps Yuri Bondarev, a Lenin and state prize winner, is also happy today, for he is once again in the limelight. He was the centre of attention last August, right after the coup attempt. At that time the Moscow authorities tried to padlock his headquarters, believing that Bondarev and his team provided an ideological cover for the putsch. However, the supporters of Bondarev organized a thorough defence and posted leaflets in all parts of Moscow, saying that freedom of speech was imperilled.

Sensations of this kind do not last long. It will be interesting to see what else Yuri Bondarev will devise. How else can he distinguish himself after burning a dummy of the famous poet, shouting dirty curses and anti-Semitic chants? Perhaps he will appear naked on Red Square. He would be well advised to do so in winter, since no one would pay any attention to him in summer. After all, the celebrated writer is not a beauty queen.

* * *

One of our regular contributors, **Igor Khalevinsky,** 47, was

until recently head of the consular department in the foreign ministry of the USSR. A short time ago he was offered a post of the newly established ministry of labour and employment of the Russian Federation.

While working as head of the consular department, Khalevinsky insisted that the visa policy should be made simple and did much so that our compatriots could travel abroad without the usual redtape. Now, in the post of deputy minister, he can continue the cause he began in the foreign ministry.

The new ministry, Khalevinsky says, will "organize civilized, legal forms of travel for Russian citizens abroad" to

find temporary employment there. It is expected that the ministry will have an information service, a sort of "literacy class" for those who would like to go abroad in search of work but do not know how to do so.

Khalevinsky's post in the foreign ministry has been taken by **Vasily Vinogradov**, 43, who graduated from the law faculty of the Institute of International Relations in 1971. Vinogradov has the experience of consular work in the United States and Canada. In his opinion, one of the consular department's provinces is to assist Russian businessmen in foreign economic activity.

Igor Zolotussky, 61, a noted literary critic and co-chairman of the Union of Russian Writers (an alternative to the "right-wing" Union of Writers of the Russian Federation led by Yuri Bondarev), did not be-

Sonja holds her own

Her real name is **Ursula Beurton.** But she is known to her friends and acquaintances as Sonja. This pseudonym was given her by Richard Sorge, who drew her into work for the Soviet military intelligence in Shanghai in the summer of 1930.

Sonja went to Shanghai together with her husband, an architect. Meetings of the Sorge group were held in their flat. Sonja became the only foreign agent of the Chief Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet army to be decorated twice with the Order of the Red Banner of Valour.

Having completed a course of study in a secret radio school in Moscow, she fulfilled the directorate's tasks in Manchuria, Poland and Switzerland. When the war began, Sonja, a German Jew, felt that she could attract at any moment the attention of Gestapo sleuths who inundated the neutral country. In 1941 she went to Britain. Her new job was as a radio operator of the Soviet agent Klaus Fuchs, who passed Britain's atomic secrets to Moscow through her. The unmasking of Fuchs and the forthcoming trial forced Sonja to leave her house at Oxfordshire. A day before the trial began she went to Berlin, where she lives today.

Early in the 1950s Sonja left her dangerous work and took up writing. About a dozen books written under the pseudonym Ruth Werner have earned her fame. In connection with the forthcoming publication of the biographical book **Sonja's Rapport** in Britain, Ruth Werner expressed the desire to visit familiar places and meet old friends. In reply to this some members of the British parliament demanded that Werner be arrested as "a Russian spy" the moment she steps on British soil. The London's correspondent of a popular Moscow youth newspaper added fuel to the fire by alleging that Sonja, who has raised three children, was a bad mother.

Nevertheless, Sonja visited London. She forbade her publishers to call her a spy. "I think a spy is a man who is bought for money. No one bought me for money. I acted according to my convictions."

Sonja admitted that the bankruptcy of communist ideology dispelled "many of her illusions." However, she does not think that she lived her life in vain. "I fought against fascism and we won," she says. "If my work brought victory at least three days nearer, even two hours nearer, I can walk with my head held high."

S. Dolyakov

come editor-in-chief of a new independent literary newspaper. The decision to establish such a newspaper was made by a congress of Russian writers last October.

At a secretariat meeting the candidature of Zolotussky was suddenly rejected. In his opinion, this took place because of the opposition of Rybakov, Baklanov, Pristavkin and Mozhayev. "These writers had a grudge against *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (Literary Gazette) and against me personally because we did not publish favourable reviews of their works," Zolotussky says. "They wanted the new literary newspaper to popularize the works written by members of the secretariat. I do not want to work for a newspaper that would serve their interests."

Zolotussky hoped that the editorial board of "the elite, independent and purely literary newspaper" would include only "young talented writers, representatives of the Russian diaspora and Western intellectuals," and not "new literary big shots."

After much haggling Yuri Nagibin was elected editor-in-chief of the new newspaper. Zolotussky has deep respect for this writer and hopes he will not countenance the literary "generals."

One and a half years ago Igor Zolotussky began to work at *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, where he heads the department of Russian literature. He is the author of many articles and of 15 books, which are devoted to Gogol.

* * *

Brigitte Bardot, "the most beautiful woman of Europe" in the 1950s and 1960s, engaged in cinema for 30-odd years of her life, decided to present her famous Madrague villa near Saint-Tropez to the Foundation for Protection of Animals, which she has established herself.

The Madrague villa, situated a few kilometres from Saint-Tropez, was bought by the actress in 1958, right after the unusual success of the film *And God Created a Woman* in which she starred. At that time it was a small house on the sea coast used by fishermen who caught tuna (madrague is a place for tuna catching).

In subsequent years the house was transformed into a villa and became a favourite vacation spot for Bardot. A German millionaire and playboy, Gunther Sachs, Brigitte's third husband, once bought several thousand roses which were dropped over the villa from a helicopter. In the villa the actress hid from other people in hard times and celebrated her successes with close friends. Later, Brigitte Bardot "lent" the name of her villa to a company manufacturing perfume and fashionable clothes.

Today Bardot lives in seclusion, as she says, along with twenty cats, twelve dogs, a donkey and a goat. "It would be wonderful if the animals I love most of all could have this villa at their disposal, and not some American or Japanese oil barons," the actress says.

* * *

The "confession" of a former general

Markus Wolf, former chief of the intelligence service of the German Democratic Republic and former colonel-general of state security, gives explanations to investigators while Russian TV viewers enjoy a film devoted to him. The nostalgic film, *Confession of an intelligence officer*, related the story of a boy who, together with his father, lived in emigration in Moscow and, after the war, was ordered by Walter Ulbricht, then first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, to form the intelligence service of the first state of workers and peasants on German soil. Since then Wolf, a soldier of the "invisible front," served the cause of peace and progress.

Markus Wolf proved an outstanding intelligence officer. After perestroika began in the Soviet Union he differed in opinion from Erich Honecker, who was against changes in the German Democratic Republic, and retired. In November 1989, when East Germany revolted against the communist regime, Markus Wolf was among the rebels. But in the new Germany, he has become persona non grata. Democrats do not want to deal with the former deputy minister of state security. The ministry of state security of the GDR, set up according to the pattern of the Soviet KGB, cruelly persecuted any dissidence and inundated the country with informers.

Gen. Wolf asserts that he dealt only with intelligence. But the West German prosecutor charges him with participation in the criminal activity of the state security ministry, primarily with giving assistance to "Red Army" terrorists who committed murders in West Germany and went into hiding in the GDR.

The makers of the Russian film about Wolf are sure that the general engaged only in noble undertakings. The script was written by the famous journalist Vladimir Simonov, who worked in India and the United States and, in the past few years, has been a political analyst for the Novosti Press Agency. Simonov is probably well informed about the activity of Markus Wolf, as he is married to a step-sister of the former general of state security.

Igor Makhayev, 60, is the director of the first international Diaghilev ballet competition to be held in Moscow this spring. For over 30 years he worked in the ballet company of the Moscow concert organization, and he cannot imagine a different life. After studying at the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy he was sent to develop virgin land in the north of Kazakhstan and build a hothouse complex. About 2,000 prisoners then worked under his command. Several years later the future ballet dancer got a job at the institute of toxins and fertilizers. He poisoned himself with toxic chemicals at one of the first tests in the Pamirs. Several of his colleagues died.

After a two-month treatment Makhayev was advised to change his profession. He worked in the Petrozavodsk music theatre, then in the Perm choreographic school, and later in the Moscow concert organization, in which he was a leading ballet dancer. The company gave performances throughout the Soviet Union, but Makhayev was not allowed to go abroad. "I am the son of an executed diplomat and the grandson of a priest," he explains. Two years ago Igor Makhayev was invited to head Perm's cultural foundation of the Diaghilev house, which became the sponsor and organizer of an independent competition of ballet dancers.

Social security

Despite the fact that everyone in America is responsible for his own material well-being, the government takes on some of the responsibility in some of the cases, especially in cases involving seniors, ill people, and the poverty stricken.

The means for these purposes come mostly from the social welfare budget. This is the most serious programme of government assistance to those "who find themselves in hard times," as they tactfully say in America. Every working American pays a special tax which goes to financing this system. Employers are required to add to this sum a specified amount. Paying into the fund of social welfare is very important, because the more your contribution and the longer you pay into it determines the size of your future pension.

Americans now go into retirement at the age of 65, though earlier retirement is also possible, for example, at the age of 62. In this case the size of the pension paid until the person turns 65 is less. With inflation the pension also increases.

By federal law, the social welfare system covers and likewise gives aid to the unemployed (if a person loses work against his will). This programme is conducted by individual states under the direction of the federal government. Money for this is also collected by a special tax, payed equally by employer and employee.

The humane essence of the social welfare programme is to redistribute part of the income of the population. Theoretically, this contradicts the principles of the free market: financing programmes at the expense of the working segment of the population, for the benefit, of mostly, the non-working. Unfortunately, the liberalism of this programme allows much room for corruption. For example, in a majority of states it is quite possible for single parents to live, in decent conditions, off the money received for the care of their children. In order to receive such assistance you needn't even be formally married, simply having children on your hands, under the age of 18 is sufficient. In families living by these means, the incentive to earn a living disappears. It's not surprising therefore that families with many children in which no one has worked for generations, isn't a rarity in America.

Government social welfare programmes aren't equipped to pay every expense accrued by those in need. Adding to the efforts of the federal and state programs are different charity organizations. Part of the costs for caring for the sick and elderly are covered by insurance policies which they've paid into.

Continued from Nos. 1,2,3,4,5/92

Insurance

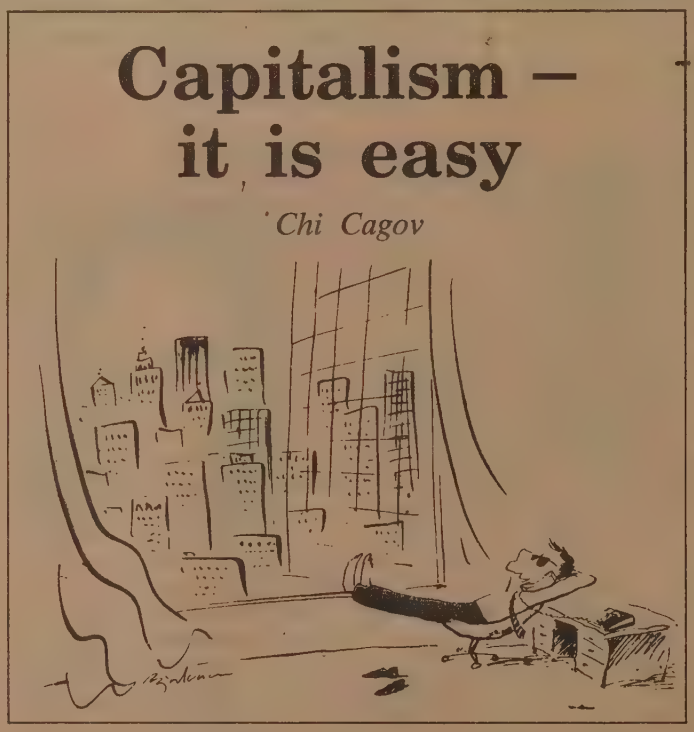
Under capitalism this is one of the very wide-spread forms of services. Without insurance it is difficult to survive. If there is a demand for something, there will be no lack of goods. Offering insurance, the agent says exactly: "Take a look at what I have to offer you". They insure, in reality, almost everything: home, property, car, life, professional activities (from the event that you make an error), lack of crops in the event of drought, medical expenses.

The cost of health insurance, medical and life insurance, depends on your age: the older you are, the more it costs, insurance of professional life – from experience, professional work record, and your history with malpractice suits. Analogously, if someone has on their record several car accidents, his automobile insurance will be more expensive. Besides these factors, they also take your age and sex into account. An increase in insurance payments depends also on an increase in coverage. Typical life insurance coverage, offered by many employers, equals a two-year salary.

At a minimum, people insure their dwelling, property, car and health. In many states car insurance is mandatory.

Insurance payments, as a rule, make up an important part of the family budget. For example, for me and my wife, the cost of insurance on the car, the house, property and medical care exceeds the cost of groceries.

Insurance of professional life sometimes is so expensive that some businesses go bankrupt from the costs. Insurance companies, nevertheless, do quite well. As a rule they use their earnings to invest in real estate and often act as construction firms. In this way they fulfill another important function for society: money for insurance, collected from the population, participates in socially useful activities and is a boost to the economy.



In America there are few families who don't pay for an insurance policy because insurance is, after all, connected to a fundamental aspect of everyday life – caring for health. Nonetheless, I know people who don't buy insurance, medical included. Relying on his own health and good luck. For those who can't dictate their fate, such behaviour is shortsighted and dangerous. I somehow landed in the hospital for two weeks. If I hadn't had an insurance policy which paid 100 percent of all the bills (after the first two thousand dollars), my stay in the hospital would have meant years of working off the debt.

Health protection

A family's medical bills are very steep, as free medical care doesn't exist in America. In the usual situation these bills are covered by medical insurance which has been paid into. If the family is not in a position to pay for a medical policy, then there are two gov-

ernmental programmes which pay for medical care for the poor. One is state sponsored, Medicaid, and pays in full all medical bills. There is also a federal programme, Medicare, which can be used by invalids and practically every American over 65. The federal programme doesn't pay all of the medical expenses.

In the last ten years an amalgamated package of insurance has gained large popularity. A person or family buys an insurance policy, which pays for the medical technology existing only in certain specified hospitals and clinics which belong to the company where the policy was bought. Such insurance is more affordable, although also limits the choice of doctors you can receive care from.

Leisure

Most popoular are sports. Every American in one way or another has taken part in sports. Many – as fans in the stands. Some – professionally, "for money." The rest – for themselves, in sport clubs, in sport arenas, on the golf course, in health clubs.

Such clubs are a wide-spread athletic tradition in America. Of course – for money. Usually it's a significantly large building where all together under one roof you find a jogging track, a swimming pool, tennis courts, raquetball courts, and excercise machine rooms. Everyone takes part as much as he wants in what he wants, at a time of his convenience (in accordance with the advice of a doctor). For a separate fee you can have a personal trainer.

Sport amateurs – there are many of. In city parks and on suburban streets, in any weather, everywhere – jogging. Sport arenas, even those for pay, are jammed with people. At multi-court tennis complexes sometimes it is even necessry to wait in line. National parks (nature preserves) yearround are "teaming" with tourists. America loves sports.

Art culture is exceptionally popular. Theatres in America, as a rule, are small and each has its own following. Movie theatres are all over, but when a good new film comes out, you also have to stand in line for tickets. World-famous stars can be found among stage performers. There is also a huge quantity of art galleries and exhibition halls.

A favourite form of relaxation on Sundays for Americans is picnicking in nature. During vacations common activities are hunting, fishing, hiking, collecting things, doing needle work, getting the house in order, or renovating the home. When planning a vacation, many, of course, think of travelling. It's not for nothing that they say Americans are the nation of travellers.

With any trip, the whole or part of it is made on mass transit (buses, planes, or trains), which is arranged by a travel agency, of which there are many. (In the city I live in, of 18 thousand residents, there are 11 travel bureaus.) Whole pages are devoted to them in the telephone book. Usually the business consists of 3-4 people plus a computer. It is the most primitive form of business, the selling of tickets for transportaiton. Few actually visit the agency: practically everything can be done by phone.

Let's say that tomorrow we need to fly to some remote small European city. By calling up an agent at the travel bureau I can find tickets on the most convenient plane, arriving in time to transfer onto a train, which itself gets me to the bus I need to catch. If this itinerary is to my liking, I inform the agent (by telephone). I give him my credit card number, with which I want to cover the expenses. After an hour a courier arrives with all the tickets, on which is a description of my route, and the telephone number where I can be reached in the hotel, and a car to rent (if I wish).

The computer in the travel agency is tied into computers of all the major travel companies. Therefore, on many tickets is stated the seat number of my choice (for example, in a non-smoking section, or a window seat). I could act in an analogous fashion when taking off on any trip, to any point on the globe, for example, to a mountain resort in Nepal.

The agencies earn their cut form a percentage on the cost of the ticket. If I had bought tickets directly from the transportation company, I wouldn't have saved any money. There they would charge the exact same percent on the ticket. Why should I waste time on this if the travel agency can save me the hassle?

My wife and I love to travel around America. Often by car, and sometimes in combination: with a plane and a car. We land somewhere, say Arizona. We pick up our rented car and we're off to the Grand Canyon, Los Vegas, national parks, Lake Tacho, to San Francisco... – it's a big country, and there are excellent roads. Car rental firms are abundant. And they're, of course, in competition. And we benefit through it by affordable prices.

We began to travel around the country right from the beginning. When I had only driven 70 miles in my life, we sat the whole family in the newly bought car, and set off for our first trip around America and Canada.

Each day, as it got close to evening, we started to seek out a motel (for some reason we always sought one with a pool). In this there is nothing complicated, along the roads there are ads everywhere for such motels. But after living a while in America, we came to understand that normal Americans don't go about it in this way. It is better earlier to either call a travel bureau and book a room, or if the trip doesn't have concrete destination, to order form your autoclub (most drivers belong to one of them) information on offered routes. In a week you will receive a fat envelope with maps, guide books, descriptions of all hotels and motels in the vicinity, with gradations according to quality and price; you'll find the same with restaurants, museums, excursions, in short, everything – that could be of interest to a visitor. All this information arrives to us for free. It is paid by the above mentioned establishments. After all, for them it is advertisement.

Freedom of choice brings with it special sort of difficulties: you need experience in order to invent an interesting travel adventure while at the same time staying within your budget. This is the main (if not the single) problem. In general, it continues to amaze and impress me that one can visit the most difficult to reach corner of the world, on the peaks of mountains, on the bottom of the ocean, to experience any sharp sensation while in conditions of care and comfort.

Some elderly people, often those who due to health aren't able to travel around the country by car, go to resorts to spend their leisure time. They can ride there by train and transport with them (on a special platform) their cars.

It's also possible to connect to your car a small housetrailer, in which case troubling over a hotel becomes unnecessary. But in any case, in America, you can't just spend the night anywhere you end up, you need to have a map with the locations of trailer parking lots in the area. They're usually located somewhere around a field surrounded by a forest. The fee is small. Access to water, clean toilets, picnic tables and places for building camp fires are all available. As a rule, it's located in a nature reserve, of which there are several of in each state. I know people who only travel to such spots.

To relax and to enjoy oneself is a breeze in America. An infinite number of restaurants (from home cooking to delicacies from around the world), ethnic and music clubs of every kind, any exotic offering imaginable, fairs, parades and festivals – all this attainable. There are never-ending diverse ways of spending money, which is an unbelievable stimulus to make it. And towards these ends capitalism offers people unlimited opportunities.

Chi Cagov's book, Kapitalism. Eto Prosto (Capitalism, It's Easy) only just came out from the publishers "Vsyo dlya vas" (Everything for you). Wholesale buyers call: 209–73–01.

A portrait in red

Some things can be described more easily in a foreign language

Cecilia Kin and the Sicilian writer Leonardo Sciascia, one of her heroes and friends

Photo by Ferdinando Scianna

Her name was known not only to students of Italian affairs but also to the general public. Nevertheless, I learned with surprise that her last book, *The Italian Puzzle,* brought out last year without advertising, was sold by street venders for 30 rubles, though the official price is one ruble and ten kopeks. It can be supposed, of course, that people are always interested in political strategy, even in a foreign country, and that even in our time, full of revelations, they will read with interest about new facts in the Aldo Moro affair or about Togliatti's true role in the arrest and tragic fate of Antonio Gramsci.

All this is so. Nevertheless, the abovementioned work and others by Cecilia Kin attract readers not only with "puzzles." Her views on history and society always differed from the official ones. She was rebuked sometimes for an excessive abundance of personages and kaleidoscopic changes of events. I can recall here Chukovsky's remark about Chekhov. This writer, he said, described for the first time a host of persons representing all classes and strata of society. It was a manifestation of his democratism.

Soviet historical (Party) literature showed only ideologically brainwashed people. In that atmosphere, scorched by schematism, Cecilia Kin brought out numerous personalities – founders of a united Italy and their Catholic opponents, pioneers of the working-class movement and apostles fo the idea of class peace, eminent writers and small-time reporters, major politicians and kings for a day. Each of them had his won gait and pronunciation, expression and predilections and love stories.

At first, people were equal for her, but she drew a distinction between them not according to their "services" or "historical importance." Cecilia Kin had different criteria. For many years we had an argument with her that could be referred to as an argument over a "matchbox comparison." In old books on natural science a beetle or any other insect was photographed beside a matchbox for comparison.

Cecilia Kin theoretically accepted the argument in favour of this method but flatly rejected in her work any "quantitative" approach in assessing the significance and scale of phenomena. In social history she could regard as equally important the mass action of the people and an argument between two intellectuals on a seemingly private question.

One of her books begins with the Italian word "impegno" – moral duty, fidelity to the ideal. It was for Cecilia the main criterion in the evaluation of deeds. According to this ethic criterion, Kin regarded as heroes (to the great surprise of editors) such people as Antonio Gramsci, a brilliant Marxist thinker who placed the freedom of thought above his own life; Filippo Turati, an utterly honest Socialist leader repeatedly labelled as an opportunist; the "renegade" Ignazio Silone, with his tragic gap between conscience and dogmatism; Leonardo Sciascia, a Voltairian from Sicily, a wonderful writer and an inconvenient "fellow-traveller."

On Cecilia's bookcase one could see photographs with the autographs of people dear to her: Sandro Pertini, a Socialist, the only Italian President called "president of the people;" Indro Montanelli, the patriarch of Italian journalism and the publisher of a very conservative newspaper; Luciana Castellina, a member of the Europarliament from the extreme left; Prof. Carlo Castellano, also a Communist and a leader of the Ansaldo company (gunmen from the Red Brigade wanted to kill him for being a businessman). All these men, incompatible with each other, were united on the shelf of Cecilia's bookcase by one common feature – loyalty to their cause. And this in a society with a deficiency of morals. Is this the main "puzzle" of Cecilia Kin?

This miniature and fragile woman, who lived for more than 80 years, witnessed the tragedy and folly of the recent history of our country. Her school years coincided with the revolution. In her Komsomol youth she met her future husband, Victor Kin. The 1920s were marked by self-education and disputes on the way of development. She also witnessed the tightening noose of repressions. In 1937 her husband was arrested and shot. Cecilia spent 16 years in camps and exile (eight years of them in the Akmolinsk camp for wives of traitors to the state). She was behind barbed wire when her 16-year-old son, saying he was older, volunteered to go to the front and received a fatal wound a year later.

In the second half of the 1950s Cecilia Kin returned home. She had no family, money or profession. The Italian theme came in almost accidentally. She remembered the several years spent in Italy with her husband, the first TASS correspondent there. Let me suggest that the study of Italian history, literature and especially politics became for Cecilia Kin a sort of possibility to survive between two mutually exclusive poles: loyalty to the ideals of the pre-repression period and refusal to accept the Stalinist system. This surmise is indirectly confirmed by the following fact: Cecilia wrote all her books about Italy in Russian, and a book about herself (and virtually about all of us, the 70 years of our history) in Italian. The book is entitled *Self-Portrait in Red.* Some things can be described more easily in a second language, but as if under partial anaesthesia.

Earlier, her book, *Choice or Destiny,* was translated in Milan. On its cover is a portrait of the author against the background of a bridge stretching into the distance. The metaphoric picture is very clear: the creative work of Ceiclia Kin united two nations, two cultures. The Italian publisher told me that he exmained 300 photographs before choosing what he wanted – a bridge with distinct and simple outlines combining the lightness and elegance of forms with a sensation of reliability and simultaneously, projection into the distance, beyond the horizon.

Ilya Levin

Attention enterprises and individuals:

Your office on wheels

DODGE VAN, CHEVROLET ASTRO VAN, PLYMOUTH VOYAGER, LINCOLN CONTINENTAL, FORD LTD., FORD XL CLUB, CHRYSLER LE BARON, CADILLAC SEVILLE, CHEVY VAN, MERCEDES, BMW

Offered for sale or lease
by the firm Russia-Hungary-Germany
Hard currency and rubles
Address: dom 14, kv. 23,
Taneyevykh Ulitsa, Moscow
☎ Tel.: 241-83-55, 241-24-70, 241-74-39.

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ · DESIGN

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANG
OF SCIENCE AND
INFORMATION TECHNOLOG
Mira Prospekt, VDNKh,
Pavillion One Moscow 1292
Tel.: 187-27-90
Fax: 181-05-81

WE GUARD YOUR INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

REPLICA OF THE 14th CENTURY ARMOUR,
STATE MUSEUM OF HISTORY